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THE
DIFFICULTIES OF ROMANISM.

LONDON :

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ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

THE
DIFFICULTIES OF ROMANISM

IN RESPECT TO

EVIDENCE :

OR THE

PECULIARITIES OF THE LATIN CHURCH

EVINCED TO BE UNTENABLE

ON THE

PRINCIPLES OF LEGITIMATE HISTORICAL TESTIMONY.

BY

GEORGE STANLEY FABER, B.D.

RECTOR OF LONG NEWTON, AND PREBENDARY OF SALISBURY.

Adversus universas hæreses jam hinc præjudicatum sit: id esse verum,
quodcunque primum; id esse adulterum, quodcunque posterius.

TERTULL. adv. Prax. § ii. Oper. p. 405.

THE SECOND EDITION,
REVISED AND REMOULDED.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

NICHOLAS LORD BEXLEY,

AS A TOKEN OF SINCERE RESPECT

BOTH FOR HIS PUBLIC SERVICES AND HIS PRIVATE VIRTUES,

THIS WORK IS INSCRIBED

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HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.



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P R E F A C E.

It has recently been asserted by Dr. Norris of Stonyhurst: that *Members of the Roman Church cannot consistently enter into an examination of doctrinal points with members of a Protestant Church.*

I. No ground of discussion, we are told, can now be admitted: because the principles of the Reformation were fully discussed and finally set at rest in the Council of Trent; the decisions of which Council, under the aspect of its being Ecumenical, are by every Latin revered as the dictates of the Holy Ghost. Henceforth, no one in communion with the Church of Rome can entertain a shadow of doubt: henceforth, his faith is fixed and immoveable. *Roma locuta est: causa finita est.* This being the case, it were unseemly for a Latin to argue with a Protestant: because the very fact of his stooping to argument

would be a tacit admission, both that doubt might still be entertained, and that his own faith was neither fixed nor immoveable.

Such, very lately, has been the published language of the Principal of Stonyhurst, as addressed by him to my very able friend Mr. Whittaker : such also, unless my memory altogether fail me, has been the language of Dr. Doyle in Ireland.

1. Even on the first inspection, many persons will perhaps deem a statement of this character not a little extraordinary.

To argue with an opponent *may* evince a wish to *satisfy* that opponent : but, on the part of the individual who enters into the argument, it can scarcely be construed to *imply a doubt* of the truth of *his own* opinions.

*Be ready always to give an answer to EVERY man, that asketh you A REASON of the hope that is in you*¹.

The holy Apostle Peter, I presume, did not wish us to understand : that this enjoined perpetual readiness to give an answer to all those, who should inquire concerning the *reason* of our hope, was to be construed as an acknowledgment ; that *a Christian entertained serious doubts*

¹ 1 Pet. iii. 15.

of the truth of his religion, and consequently that the faith of a Christian was neither fixed nor immoveable. In any such oddly paradoxical manner, we certainly cannot interpret his very plain admonition. He doubtless meant to intimate : that, if a person should deny the truth of our doctrine, and should call upon us for a reasonable proof of it; we ought not to tell him in reply, that we were precluded from speaking on the subject, because any argument on *our* part would be a tacit admission that *we ourselves* entertained doubts; but, on the contrary, we ought always to be ready to give an answer even to *every* man, who should demand from us a *reason* of the hope that is in us.

Assuredly, unless we introduce an universal scepticism as to the import of language, this is the plain sense of the Apostle's admonition.

Whence, no less assuredly, his admonition convicts of error all those Romanists, who, on the unscriptural plea, that *They are compelled to reject every invitation to inquiry, because they cannot admit any ground of discussion, and because a discussion of what has been already settled would imply an acknowledgment of doubt and uncertainty,* decline, when a Protestant calls upon them for

an *answer*, to state the *reason* of the hope that is in them.

The inspired Apostle, we see, is express against any such subterfuge : and the principle of his admonition is clear and self-evident.

We can never expect to bring over any person to our opinion, if, in fair and open discussion, we refuse to communicate the ground upon which that opinion reposes.

2. Possibly Dr. Norris and his friends may say ; that they *do* give an answer to the man that asks them a reason of the hope that is in them : for, when questioned on the subject, they reply ; that *All doctrinal points between themselves and the Reformed were fully discussed and finally set at rest by the Council of Trent, the decisions of which they revere as the very dictates of the Holy Ghost.*

(1.) An answer of this sort *may* be satisfactory to *themselves* : but can they seriously believe, that it will ever convince or convert an intelligent inquirer after *actual* truth ?

They wish to proselyte, we will say, an individual of this description.

The individual, on whom is tried the experiment, very naturally and very fairly asks for a *reason* of the hope that is in them.

Incontinently, the answer, as recommended by Dr. Norris and Dr. Doyle, is: that *Their hope MUST be well founded, BECAUSE the infallible Council of Trent has finally decided the question.*

(2.) But, in reality, the persons, who would give as sufficient even *this* strange answer, must either have *themselves* paid very little attention to the principles of the Tridentine Council, or must have rapidly concluded that not more attention has been paid to those principles by *their antagonists.*

Their answer, such as it is, rests upon the avowed basis: that *The Council of Trent, nakedly and dogmatically, made certain decisions in respect to alleged christian doctrine and in respect to alleged christian practice.*

Whence their conclusion is: that, *Since the decisions of the Tridentine Council are to be revered as the dictates of the Holy Ghost, those decisions cannot now, without manifest impiety, be questioned or controverted.*

But, irrelevant as this answer plainly is to the case in hand; the case, to wit, of *an inquirer asking a reason of that hope which a Latin recommends to his acceptance:* the very basis of such an answer is palpably insecure.

The Council of Trent did NOT make its decisions *nakedly* and *dogmatically*. On the contrary, it rested them, even professedly, altogether upon AN ASSERTED FACT.

Hence, its decisions were made, not *abstractedly*, but *concretely*. They were so framed, as to depend, not upon *the simple naked infallibility of a theopneust Ecumenical Council*, but upon *the previous establishment of AN ASSERTED FACT in history*.

Such being the case ; by the Tridentine Synod, the cause, even professedly, was *ended*, ONLY SO FAR AS THE ASSERTED FACT could be *established*.

Therefore, both on the very ground gratuitously taken up by the Council itself, and likewise on the acknowledgment that the infallibility of an Ecumenical Council extends not to *Facts* but reaches solely to *Doctrines*: THE ASSERTED FACT must be historically substantiated, ere our modern romish theologians, even on their own principles, can be allowed to say, that THE CAUSE IS ENDED ¹.

¹ From the authority of Mr. Berington we learn: that *It is no article of Catholic Faith, that the Church cannot err in MATTERS OF FACT*. Faith of Cathol. p. 154, 155. See below, book ii. chap. 7. § IV.

Should any Romanist, perceiving the consequences of this

Now the FACT, again and again asserted by the Tridentine Fathers, is this.

ALL the doctrines and ALL the practices, which they, the Tridentine Fathers, have decided to be true and obligatory, were ALWAYS the received doctrines and practices of the Church Catholic, in EVERY age, without ANY variation, from the very time of Christ and his Apostles who were themselves the first original inculcators of such doctrines and such practices, down even to the time in which they, the Tridentine Fathers, lived and flourished.

Nor, be it carefully observed, do they barely assert the FACT before us, as a fact.

acknowledgment, wish to draw back from it; he may be promptly met with proof positive.

The second Nicene Council, which sat in the year 787, roundly asserted the FACT; that *No one of the antecedent Fathers had ever styled the consecrated eucharistic bread an IMAGE of Christ's body*: and, upon this precise ASSERTED FACT, the members of that Council built the doctrine of a *materal or substantial presence of Christ in the consecrated eucharistic elements*. Concil. Nic. ii. act. vi. Labb. Concil. vol. vii. p. 448. 449.

Yet, by Eusebius and Theodoret of the Greek Church, and by Ambrose and Gelasius of the Latin Church, all of whom flourished *anterior* to the year 787, the consecrated elements had, even *verbally*, been denominated *the IMAGE* (εἰκὼν and imago) *of Christ's body and blood*. Euseb. Demons. Evan. lib. viii. c. 2. p. 236. Theod. Dial. ii. Oper. vol. iv. p. 85. Ambros. Offic. lib. i. c. 48. Oper. col. 33. Gelas. de duab. Christ. natur. in Biblioth. Patr. vol. iv. p. 422.

*The Tridentine Fathers professedly likewise build, upon the ASSERTED FACT in question, their own specific decisions. Therefore, they inevitably make the truth of their decisions to rest upon the anterior fundamental truth of AN ASSERTED FACT in history*¹.

Under such a statement of the matter; a statement, be it duly remembered, made not by *me*

¹ SEMPER hæc fides in Ecclesia Dei fuit. Concil. Trident. sess. xiii. c. 3. p. 124.

Ideo persuasum SEMPER in Ecclesia Dei fuit: idque nunc denuo sancta hæc Synodus declarat. Ibid. sess. xiii. c. 4. p. 125.

Pro more in Catholica Ecclesia SEMPER recepto. Ibid. sess. xiii. c. 5. p. 125.

Universa Ecclesia SEMPER intellexit. Ibid. sess. xiv. c. 5. p. 148.

Persuasum SEMPER in Ecclesia Dei fuit: et verissimum esse Synodus hæc confirmat. Ibid. sess. xiv. c. 7. p. 153.

Sacræ Literæ ostendunt, et Catholicæ Ecclesiæ traditio SEMPER docuit. Ibid. xxiii. c. 1. p. 279.

Cum, Scripturæ testimonio, apostolica traditione, et Patrum UNANIMI consensu, perspicuum sit:—dubitare nemo debet. Ibid. sess. xxiii. c. 3. p. 280.

Cum, igitur,—sancti Patres nostri, Concilia, et UNIVERSALIS Ecclesiæ traditio, SEMPER docuerunt:—sancta et universalis Synodus prædictorum schismaticorum hæreses et errores—exterminandos duxit. Ibid. sess. xxiv. p. 343, 344.

Tridentina Synodus,—Sacrarum Scripturarum et sanctorum Patrum ac probatissimorum Conciliorum testimonia et ipsius Ecclesiæ judicium et CONSENSUM secuta, HÆC STATUIT, FATETUR, AC DECLARAT. Ibid. sess. v. p. 12, 13. Vide etiam sess. xiii. p. 121, 122.

but by *the Tridentine Fathers themselves*: it is obvious, that the ASSERTED FACT must be substantiated, ere the decisions be admitted; it is obvious, that, until the ASSERTED FACT *be* substantiated, the cause is *not* ended.

Nothing, therefore, can be at once, both more absurd in itself, and more contrary to the very declaration of the Tridentine Fathers, than to assert, with Dr. Norris and Dr. Doyle, that *the CAUSE is ended while the FACT yet remains to be substantiated*: nothing can be more disgracefully evasive, than to decline all discussion of the peculiarities of Romanism, on the miserable plea; that *The principles of the Reformation have been finally set at rest in the Council of Trent.*

On the very ground taken up by the Tridentine Fathers themselves, we say: PROVE YOUR ASSERTED FACT.

Dr. Norris and Dr. Doyle reply: ROMA LOCUTA EST; CAUSA FINITA EST!

II. To ascribe the inconsistency of Dr. Doyle and the Principal of Stonyhurst to *all* the gentlemen of their communion, were an unfairness of which I would in no wise be guilty.

Both Mr. Berington, and the present Bishop

of Strasbourg Dr. Trevern, have felt the imperative necessity of establishing the FACT, before they could plead the DECISIONS.

Hence, with whatever success, they have alike manfully set their shoulders to the wheel: the one, in his *Faith of Catholics confirmed by Scripture and attested by the Fathers of the five first centuries*; the other, in his *Amicable Discussion on the Anglican Church and generally on the Reformation*.

Of each of these two writers, the object is the same: namely, AN ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FACT ALLEGED BY THE TRIDENTINE FATHERS.

Their respective efforts I certainly deem a most lamentable failure: but still, so far as they are *personally* concerned, they have done nothing more, than what they felt themselves *compelled* to do. Upon all those who have made such matters their study, the Council has called, to establish, by historical testimony, the FACT which the Council has asserted. I readily admit the invitation to be somewhat appalling: but the theological world will only, on *that* account, the more sincerely respect the undaunted courage of the two chivalrous individuals who have so promptly

undertaken the adventure. If they fall in the lofty quest, they at least fall in the very act of performing their knightly devoir.

III. In the spring of the year 1825, an english gentleman of family and fortune, Mr. Massingberd of Gunby Park, with whom I have not the advantage of being personally acquainted, forwarded to me, from the south of France, a copy of the *Amicable Discussion* of Dr. Trevern, formerly Vicar-General of Langres, then Bishop of Aire, now Bishop of Strasbourg.

The copy, thus transmitted to me, was accompanied by a letter : in which Mr. Massingberd spoke, in the highest terms, of the Bishop's personal character ; represented his Work, as having produced a very considerable sensation among the travelling English Laity ; and, with a degree of perhaps flattering earnestness which I could scarcely have anticipated, requested me to answer it.

On perusing the Work, I found, that Dr. Trevern's general argument, in favour of the Church of Rome and against the Church of England, was, in brief, to the following effect.

That which was taught by Christ and his Apostles, and that which was believed by the strictly

primitive Church from the very beginning on the professed ground that she had received it from Christ and his Apostles, must indisputably be the truth. But, with this well-ascertained primitive scheme of doctrine and practice, the Church of Rome agrees, and the Church of England disagrees. Therefore, the former must teach the truth, while the latter teaches falsehood.

This general argument, in favour of the Church of Rome and against the Church of England, rests upon no other, than *a studied attempt to substantiate the FACT asserted by the Fathers of the Tridentine Council.*

By such a process, the decisions of those Fathers are resolved, as they plainly *ought* to be resolved, into A NAKED HISTORICAL QUESTION OF FACT. And, accordingly, since it is admitted that the infallibility of Ecumenical Councils does not extend to FACTS OF HISTORY, the sole point to be decided is: *Whether the doctrines and practices of the Roman Church, as propounded and explained by the Tridentine Fathers, have, or have not, the authority of Christ, the inculcating sanction of the Apostles, and the always unvarying practical testimony of universal primitive Antiquity from the very beginning.*

IV. When a Roman Ecclesiastic perplexes an English Layman, by boldly asserting, or by speciously attempting to prove, the strict accordance of his Church, both in doctrine and in practice, with the Church which was immediately taught by the inspired Apostles: it is desirable, that the Layman, without the trouble of a research into documents not always very easily accessible, should be provided with a prompt and adequate reply.

1. *A wish*; says Mr. Massingberd in his letter to myself: *A wish to be able to answer the questions, repeatedly and triumphantly proposed by the Catholics upon topics of this description, is every where now reigning.*

Thus speaks an intelligent Layman from actual experience: the object of my Work is, to furnish an easy reply to such questions, not merely in the present day, but at any future period whatsoever.

2. *Your own theologians*; says Dr. Trevern to his english laic friend, whom his Work is professedly intended to proselyte: *Your own theologians, no less than ourselves, have in their hands the ancient Liturgies of the primitive Church and the Works of the early ecclesiastical writers: but they will have small inclination, I suspect, to bring*

you acquainted with such documents. Ask them to communicate these documents to you: desire them to specify the opinions which they express. You will soon find, that they take your request with no very good grace: and, in truth, to deal plainly with you, it is impossible that they should. Ah well, Sir, I will spare them their embarrassment: and, so far as you are concerned, I will go on to accomplish their defective ministrations.

Thus, in a tone preëminently modest and specially creditable to the integrity of the Anglican Priesthood, speaks the present Bishop of Strasbourg: the object of my Work is to furnish a permanent answer to the supposed embarrassing questions, which, at Dr. Trevern's suggestion, the English Laity might propound to the English Clergy.

V. In the first edition of this Work, at the request of Mr. Massingberd and in consequence of the high character which he gave of Dr. Trevern, I treated that individual with a degree of mildness and civility and forbearance, which has actually procured for me the censure of some members of my own Church.

Whether my conduct was proper or improper, I shall not undertake to determine: different opi-

nions may probably have been entertained of its merits.

Be that as it may, the *Answer to the Difficulties of Romanism* by the Bishop of Strasbourg was, in point of tone and temper, any thing rather than what I had anticipated. Of course, I did *not* expect that the Bishop could make out any case for *the tridentine matter of FACT*: I had studied the subject too long and too closely to apprehend any such extraordinary occurrence. But I certainly *did* expect, that *the treatment of a gentleman* would procure the cheap return *a corresponding treatment of a gentleman*: from a Bishop and from a Frenchman, I certainly *did* expect a measure of studied politeness, at the least *equal* to that of a Presbyter and an Englishman.

My reasonable expectation, however, was unhappily disappointed. Every page of my antagonist's production, that respected *myself*, was characterised by extreme irritation. Not only was I reviled in terms which Dr. Trevern ought to have blushed to use: but also, through the medium of very intemperate and very offensive phraseology, I was actually charged with having dishonestly suppressed two passages, the one from Tertullian, the other from Cyril of Jerusalem; *both* of which

I had faithfully given, though *neither* of which was I in any wise pledged to give. Dr. Trevern, however, fondly conceived, that the passages were favourable to his own cause: and he well knew, that a stout allegation of interested and dishonest suppression would materially benefit *that* cause by injuring *my* character¹. The sanctifying end was good: and the Latin Prelate does not seem to have been peculiarly scrupulous about the mean.

¹ The Bishop, through the medium of his friend Mr. Husenbeth, has since, when he found himself pressed, acknowledged, that I had fairly produced the passage from Tertullian: but he has strenuously refused to make any apology in respect to the passage from Cyril. He does not, indeed, *now* pretend to deny that I *quoted* it: nay, he was absolutely aware of *that* circumstance at the very time when he deliberately charged me with *corrupt suppression*. But, as I did not happen to quote it in the precise place of my Work where *he* was pleased to determine that I *ought* to have quoted it: he contends, that he was justified in charging me with having *suppressed* the passage; even though, in the place where he brought that accusation against me, he said not a single syllable as to my having duly *quoted* it elsewhere: in other words, he professes to hold himself justified in preferring against me a broad charge of *absolute and complete suppression*, simply because I had adduced the passage in *one* part of my Work rather than in *another*. A person, whose own *actual* feats of interpolation and suppression and mistranslation and misrepresentation have been (as we shall presently find) so numerous and so extraordinary, ought, in common prudence at least, if from no better motive, to have been peculiarly cautious, how he hazarded an accusation, and *that* a false accusation, against his antagonist.

The prolix *Answer* of Dr. Trevern, a considerable part of which was mere verbatim repetition of what he had already said in his *Amicable Discussion*, produced from me a *Reply* under the title of *The Testimony of Primitive Antiquity against the peculiarities of the Latin Church, being a Supplement to the Difficulties of Romanism*.

This *Reply* called out Mr. Husenbeth, the translator and editor of the Bishop's *Answer*: for, though by a wanton and very insulting attack upon the Church of England Dr. Trevern *himself* was *the perfectly unprovoked aggressor*; still, from *that* Prelate, even avowedly, nothing more was to be expected in the way of controversy. *How much*; he had indecently exclaimed in his *Answer* to my superfluously complaisant *Difficulties of Romanism*: *How much has my patience been tried! The whole task appeared to me ungrateful and revolting. I have endured it once, disgusting as it was: but I could not support it a second time. And I declare beforehand, that, let him write henceforth what he pleases, I shall not read a line of his production.* Dr. Trevern having thus retired from a field *gratuitously* selected by *himself*, Mr. Husenbeth was pleased to step forward into *his* place: and, accordingly, he published a *Reply to my Sup-*

plement, equalling in voluminous prolixity the *Answer* even of his very principal.

As *my* business was with Dr. Trevern, not with Mr. Husenbeth, I was certainly by no means *bound* to notice the performance of the latter: for I venture to think, that the laws of just controversy do not require that an answer should be given to all the friends or friends' friends of a shrinking adversary, who may be pleased to take up in *his* defence that pen which *he himself* has thought good to resign. Yet, though *not bound*, I was induced, *de propria liberalitate*, to expend a pamphlet upon Mr. Husenbeth: for I was moved thereto, partly by the impotent anger of the Bishop's editor, and partly by some remarkable adventures in the perilous field of criticism jointly achieved by Dr. Trevern and himself.

Thus, on my part, ended the controversy: for, of course, it were superfluous to notice a mere scurrilous pamphlet of Mr. Husenbeth, which was stuffed with irrelevant personal abuse of myself, and which contained nothing deserving of attention, save *an angry confession that the peculiarities of Romanism could not be established from the historical testimony of the antenicene Fathers, and a grossly inaccurate allegation respecting the Emperor*

Julian. Each of these matters will be duly brought forward in its proper place: meanwhile, it may be here very briefly remarked, that the confession in effect gives up the very point in debate, and that the allegation is exposed by the simple process of adducing the direct testimony of Cyril of Alexandria.

VI. From a hope of rendering my Work both more evidentially satisfactory and more extensively useful, I have, in the present edition, been induced entirely to remould the *Difficulties of Romanism*, adopting throughout a perfectly new and more convenient arrangement.

1. The FACT, to be established by the Romanist, is: *The aboriginal apostolicity of the peculiar doctrines and practices of the modern Latin Church.*

In the first book, then, of my Work, the testimony to this effect, as adduced by Dr. Trevern and Mr. Berington themselves, in the *Amicable Discussion* of the former and in *The Faith of Catholics* of the latter, partly from Scripture and partly from the ecclesiastical writers of the three first centuries, is fully and openly stated: and, without the allegation of a single atom of counter-evidence, their testimony, even on their own exhibition of it, is shewn to be utterly insufficient

to substantiate the FACT which it is designed to substantiate.

(1.) Mr. Berington, indeed, brings forward testimony from the *five* first centuries ; and Dr. Trevern, still more bountiful, professes to rest his cause upon the writers of the *six* first centuries : but, while I deem the evidence of the Fathers of the fourth or fifth or sixth century *quite insufficient* to establish the existence of the most prominent among the latin peculiarities *even in the periods during which those Fathers themselves respectively flourished* ; it is obvious, that, for any available purpose of *legitimately* substantiating the FACT *to be substantiated*, the ample period of the three first centuries is the very utmost that can be justly and rationally admitted.

(2.) The FACT to be proved, it will be recollected, is : *The apostolical inculcation and the strictly primitive reception of the peculiar doctrines and practices of the modern Latin Church.*

Now, if this FACT *cannot* be substantiated by the joint evidence of Scripture and of the writers of the three first centuries ; it is a clear case, that any attempt to substantiate it, from the *much later* documents of the fourth or fifth or sixth century, must, in the very nature of things, be a

task utterly hopeless and unprofitable. More modern testimony, when we *already possess* more ancient testimony, may not be useless under the aspect of supplemental and corroborative evidence : but more modern testimony, *without* more ancient testimony, is altogether worthless and inconclusive. The point in question, whatever that point may be, must, in the first instance, be distinctly *proved* from *really ancient* testimony. When *that* has been done ; *later* testimony may *then*, no doubt, but not *till* then, be usefully brought forward in the way of *confirmation*.

(3.) On this perfectly intelligible principle, I designedly limit my examination to the testimony produced from Scripture and from the writers of the three first centuries ; being fully satisfied, that, if the peculiarities of Romanism cannot historically be *thus* established, they never can be established by the mere *later* testimony of succeeding ages : and, this testimony from Scripture and from the three first centuries, any person, accustomed to weigh evidence, will, I suspect, pronounce with myself to be altogether defective and inefficient.

2. Here, so far as demonstration by the latin party is concerned, the matter might well have

been suffered to rest : for, when a Romanist asserts his peculiarities in doctrine and in practice to have been inculcated upon the strictly primitive Church by the Apostles themselves, the burden of PROOF clearly rests upon *him* ; nor can he expect *us* to admit his assertion, if the requisite PROOF be wanting.

(1.) But I have not thought it good, that the matter *should* here be suffered to rest.

Hence, in the second book of my Work, assuming the posture of a direct assailant, I go on to produce a mass of counter-evidence against the peculiarities of the Latin Church, which, I trust, will be quite sufficient to convince any sober inquirer, that they are assuredly of no *apostolic* origin, but that long after the apostolic age they sprang up only in the course of most lamentable corruption.

(2.) When these two distinct lines of argument, negative and positive, are combined : the historical demonstration, that *the FACT, alleged by the Tridentine Fathers as the very basis of their decisions, is utterly unfounded*, will, it is conceived, be as perfect, as can be reasonably either expected or desired.

VII. Since Dr. Trevern, with whom I was

chiefly concerned in the first edition of the *Difficulties of Romanism*, has not thought proper, in his *Amicable Discussion*, to give the originals of the passages which he adduces in evidence: I felt myself at liberty, to follow his example, and thus to escape the labour of a somewhat wearisome transcription of Greek and Latin.

1. Judicious friends have regretted my adoption of this defective and (I readily admit) unsatisfactory plan: and I myself have since seen reason heartily to join in their regret.

In the present edition, the deficiency is supplied: and, while, for the convenience of the general or the unlettered reader, I have carefully excluded from the text every vestige of Greek and Latin; I have no less carefully, in the margin, given at full length the original of every passage which has been cited, either by Dr. Trevern and Mr. Berington from the writers of the three first centuries, or by myself from writers of whatsoever description¹.

¹ Dr. Trevern's references are so deplorably slovenly and unscholarlike, that I have had infinite trouble in following him. One or two passages, I believe, at the utmost, and those of no consequence, for they say nothing more than what other strictly parallel passages of the same author say, have of very necessity been omitted by me: simply because, with my utmost

2. By adopting this plan, my Work will, I trust, have been very materially improved.

To the theological student and future clergyman, who in these latter days must anticipate the probability of not unfrequent controversy with the Roman Priesthood, the Work, as now moulded, may be useful ; because it will copiously furnish him, not merely with english translations, but with the original documents upon which that controversy depends : to the lettered and inquiring Layman it may be satisfactory ; because it freely affords him full opportunity to verify allegations by an immediate ocular inspection of the precise greek or latin passages upon which they are founded : and to those of my clerical brethren, who may chance to be engaged in local disputations with the gentlemen of the Latin Church, it may be serviceable ; because it will supply them with genuine matter upon which they may rely, and because it will exempt them from the apprehension of taking up assertions which cannot be established.

In truth, I have, from a troublesome habit of diligence, I have been unable to find them : and I have not chosen to admit any passage unaccompanied by its original in the margin.

verifying whenever I have an opportunity of verification, encountered such specimens of iniquity, both in *quoting* and in *translating* and in vaguely though boldly *asserting* upon such and such alleged authority; that I sincerely wish no *controversial* Work were written, without, both an accompaniment of the original documents, and also references so precise that the jealous inquirer, without an unreasonable imposition of labour, might have a full opportunity afforded him of examining for himself.

Should my Work, in its present form, prove beneficial in all or in any of the several respects which I have specified: it will not have been vainly written, nor will the author be without his reward.

VIII. I have observed, that, whenever a Roman Divine is hard pressed in regard to the doctrines and practices of his own Church, he almost invariably attempts to divert the attention of his reader from the *true* question, by launching out into strenuous objurgation of Luther and the Reformers.

1. Now, even if those much calumniated individuals had been as complete *Hebrew Jews* as their maligners would fain represent them: still,

I really see not what *this* has to do with the *true* matter in hand.

Granting for a moment, that *Luther conversed bodily with the devil*, I must needs say, even in *that* extreme and doubtless very remarkable case, that the Latin Clergy will not be a single jot nearer to that *historical establishment of a FACT* which has been imposed upon them by the Tridentine Fathers¹.

¹ That the anile figment of Luther's *personal* conference with the devil, who is alleged to have *then* and *there* inspired him with the thought of denying the sacrifice of the Mass, though he had *already* denied it *previous* to the date of the pretended *personal* conference, should have been lately retailed by Mr. Husenbeth, for the purpose of abusing the English Commonalty, will excite small wonder. But, that the garbled misrepresentation, in which the very misrepresenters cannot always agree in the same tale, and which entirely suppresses the not unimportant words *within my heart*, should, even AFTER Seckendorf had consigned it to well merited contempt, have been gravely adduced by Bossuet *without ever mentioning Seckendorf*, reflects no ordinary disgrace upon the character of that acute though disingenuous Prelate. Honest Seckendorf, the whole fabrication having been thoroughly dissected, indignantly exclaims: *They, therefore, who affirm, that Luther acknowledged himself to have been convinced by the devil that the Mass was no sacrifice, are guilty of a palpable and gross falsehood.* Our thanks are due to Mr. Scott for a recent exposure of what he justly calls *this shameful and preposterous story against Luther.* He intimates, that there was the more need of such exposure, because it has lately been served up in the shape of a small Tract to enlighten the lower orders of our

Let the cautious inquirer never suffer himself to be diverted by such subterfuges from the *real* question of debate : let him never for a moment forget, that, under the pain of their Church sinking into the character of a rank vender of gross imposture, the Latins stand pledged to demonstrate, from competent historical testimony, the naked FACT ; that *All the doctrines and all the practices of modern Romanism were divinely communicated by Christ, were authoritatively inculcated by his Apostles, and were from them directly and immediately received by the individual members of the strictly primitive Church Catholic*¹.

population. See Scott's Hist. of the Church of Christ. vol. i. p. 546—551. On comparing dates, I incline to think, though I speak under correction, that the illuminating Tract, alluded to by Mr. Scott, is Mr. Husenbeth's production, entitled *A Defence of the Creed and Principles of the Catholic Church*. Happily, such Creed and such Principles are the property, not of the Catholic Church at large, but only of a particular branch.

¹ In cheap *assertion* of alleged historical FACTS, few persons are more lavishly prodigal than Mr. Husenbeth : and doubtless, with the ignorant or the careless, his unblenching intrepidity may occasionally produce its desired effect.

EVERY *article of our creed*, says he, *comes down to us, hal-
lowed by the concurrent testimony of eighteen centuries—The
testimonies of the early Fathers abundantly shew, that EVERY
SINGLE article of our faith was taught FROM THE BEGINNING.*

2. Should any gentleman of the Latin Communion deem this statement too severe, in so far as it regards the *full* amount of the FACT to be substantiated: he has my free consent to lower it even to the very utmost extent of his wishes.

But, in *that* case, he must recollect, that, if he once admits the *non-inculcation* of any particular doctrine or practice by Christ and his Apostles; he forthwith concedes its origin to be *purely*

Defence of the Creed and Discipline of the Catholic Church. p. 25, 65.

My simple reply is: PROVE IT.

We are ready to shew, says he, *that our religious practices are grounded upon Scripture and the UNIVERSAL practice of Antiquity.* Ibid. p. 101.

Again I reply: SHEW IT.

In the third century, says he, *St. Cyprian speaks of secret sins confessed to the Priests and of remission granted by them. St. Irenæus, Tertullian, and others, testify to the practice of SECRET confession to the ministers of the Church.* Ibid. p. 93.

Once more I reply: PROVE IT.

On the matter of *secret* confession to a Priest, for Mr. Husenbeth makes his word *secret* designedly emphatic by printing it in Italics, I incline to believe, that he has never consulted the author to whom he so boldly refers, but that he has implicitly rested at second hand upon the intrepid assertion of the not very scrupulous Bishop of Strasbourg: *periculosæ plenum opus aleæ.* See below, Append. numb. ii. § I. (2.) (3.) (5.).

Other specimens of Mr. Husenbeth's rapidity of *assertion* will hereafter be exhibited. As a foretaste, these, for the present, may suffice.

human : and, if he thus concedes its origin to be *purely human* ; he simultaneously admits the mere *unauthoritative novelty* of the doctrine or practice in question.

IX. It may peradventure be proper, that I should say a word on the nomenclature systematically and advisedly adopted throughout the whole of the present Work.

1. In the *legitimate* use of the term, I am far from denying to any individual in communion with the Church of Rome the appellation of CATHOLIC : for I believe his particular limited Church to be a branch, though a very corrupt branch, of the Catholic Church of Christ.

Hence, as a Greek, or an Armenian, or a Syrian, or an Anglican, or a Scot, is severally a Catholic ; because, though *individually* belonging to a particular national Church, he is *generally* a member of Christ's Church Catholic : so, in the self-same sense and on the self-same principle, a Latin, or a member of some one of the particular Churches in communion with the Bishop of Rome, is indisputably a Catholic also.

2. But, after the restless humour of Ishmael whose hand was against every man that every man's hand might be against him, the gentlemen

of the romish persuasion are not content to *share* the name of CATHOLIC with the members of other Churches which are quite as independent as the Church of Rome can be : they, on all occasions, affect to assume it, as being, what in truth it is *not*, their own proper *distinguishing* appellation ; they claim it, in short, as being their own, not *in joint tenancy*, but *absolutely* and *specialy* and *exclusively*.

3. Now this most absurd and arrogant assumption, which puts them in a posture of schismatical hostility against every other branch of Christ's Universal Church, can never be allowed by any Christian, who for a single moment gives himself the trouble to consider its obvious and inevitable tendency.

(1.) If he concede to the Latin the title of CATHOLIC as his own proper *exclusive* and *distinguishing* appellation : he of course virtually excommunicates *himself* and commits a sort of ecclesiastical *suicide*, by acknowledging, that *he* has *no right* to the name of CATHOLIC, and consequently that *he* is *not* a member of the Catholic or Universal Church of Christ our common Lord and Saviour.

(2.) Such being evidently the case, it follows :

that, while the spiritual subject of the Pope is a Catholic, *precisely as*, and *not an atom more than*, a Greek or a Syrian or an Anglican or a Scot is a Catholic; the *distinctive* appellation of that papal subject, whereby we *mark him out* among the general collective body of Catholics, must plainly be some *other* appellation which he can vindicate to himself *exclusively*.

4. On this principle, the papal subject in question may be fitly called (for I am no way curious about the *precise* name of *distinction*, provided only, for convenience sake, we *have* a name of *distinction*), either *a Romanist* as a member of the Roman Church taken in its largest sense, or *a Papist* as one who acknowledges the duty of spiritual submission to the Pope, or *a Latin* as one who is in communion with the Latin Church of the Western Patriarchate of the Roman Empire.

5. Our Legislature has, I believe, conceded to religionists of this description the name of *Roman-Catholics*

In this compound title there is nothing to censure, save its manifest and prolix superfluity. No doubt, a Roman is a Catholic: whence, by a palpable truism, every Roman is a Roman-Catholic; for, while he is a Roman as a member of the

Roman or Latin Church in particular, he is a Catholic as a member of Christ's Catholic Church in general¹. But, why, on all occasions, we

¹ I have, in the course of my reading, seen instances of a formal denegation of the name of CATHOLIC to a member of the Church of England, on the grave plea gravely propounded by a Latin Priest, that the word *Catholic* means *Universal*, and that the particular national Church of England is *not* universal but limited.

That any thing so utterly childish should, even *ad captum vulgi*, have ever been brought forward, will, by the sober reader, be scarcely credited: yet, unless my memory absolutely fails me, I have really encountered a solemn denegation constructed on that precise avowed principle.

If the member of no particular national Church can claim the name of CATHOLIC, unless his particular national Church be *itself* the entire Universal Church: that name must forthwith be consigned to the owls and to the bats, on the score of its being altogether useless and unmeaning. According to *such* a gloss, the Romanist is no more a Catholic than the Anglican: for, by mere matter of fact presented openly to our very eyesight, the particular Church of the one is evinced to be no more the Universal Church in every part of the world, than the particular Church of the other.

The simple truth is, that the appellations of *Romanist* and *Anglican* are specific, while the appellation of *Catholic* is generic. Consequently, as being members of the Catholic Church of Christ, the Anglican and the Romanist are alike Catholics: but, as being severally members of the two distinct national Churches of England and Rome, they are distinctively an Anglican and a Romanist.

I am ashamed to notice such egregious trifling: my sole, though perhaps insufficient, apology must be its actual and active existence.

should be inconvenienced with the voluminous title of *Roman-Catholic*, rather than with the equally voluminous title of *Greek-Catholic* or *Syrian-Catholic* or *Anglo-Catholic* or *Scoto-Catholic*, I do not possess skill sufficient to discover.

6. Mr. Husenbeth, in his charitable love of *exclusiveness* out-heroding even Herod himself, actually goes the preposterous length of declaring, that the application of the merely *distinctive* names of *Romanist* or *Papist* or *Latin* must be considered as *a studied insult*: in other words, he pronounces (and I understand, that many of his brethren absolutely agree with him in the strangely unaccountable phantasy), that, unless we will suicidically consent to acknowledge that *we* are NOT members of the Catholic Church of Christ, we deliberately *insult* those who happen to be in communion with the particular Church of Rome!

The truth of the matter is the very reverse. Whenever Mr. Husenbeth or any other Romanist arrogantly assumes to himself, as a *distinctive* and not as a *common* appellation, the name of CATHOLIC: he is guilty of a gross and wanton and offensive *insult* to *every* member of *every* Church, that is unable to discover either from Scripture or

from History the necessity of subjection to *one* special Italian Bishop ; a Bishop, who in reality is nothing more than the head of one of those mutually independent Patriarchates, into which, *by mere secular authority*, the converted Roman Empire was in point of geography ecclesiastically partitioned.

7. I may add, that this is in no wise a vain litigious contention for a mere unimportant title.

(1.) The thoughtless folly of misdeemed polite concession, which too often has marked even members of the Reformed Churches within these Realms, has, by the Roman Priesthood, been eagerly laid hold of, for the avowed purpose of perplexing the ignorant vulgar, whether high or low, with an unblushing assumption of apparently acknowledged CATHOLIC EXCLUSIVENESS.

Every time ; says Dr. Milner, speaking of the members of the Anglican Church : *Every time they address the God of truth, either in solemn worship or in private devotion, they are forced each of them to repeat : I believe in THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. And yet, if I ask any of them the question ; Are you A CATHOLIC : he is sure to answer me ; No, I am A PROTESTANT. Was there ever a more glaring*

*instance of inconsistency and self-condemnation among rational beings*¹ ?

(2.) I was *not* aware, until instructed by Dr. Milner, that we Anglicans were all forced to repeat the Creed in our private devotions: but I *was* aware, that the same argument, if argument it can be called, has been dressed up in more than one of the small Tracts, which are industriously circulated by the Latin Clergy for the purpose of perplexing and proselyting our english common people.

Yet, unless we will consent to be guilty of the inconsistency and self-condemnation which Dr. Milner has very truly characterised as unworthy of rational beings, Mr. Husenbeth, forsooth, adopting the phantasy of the Bishop of Strasbourg, will step forward and assure us: that we actually *insult* him, when we allow indeed his claim to the title of CATHOLIC as a *common* appellation, but rightly give him as his *distinctive* appellation the name of ROMANIST OR PAPIST OR LATIN.

8. Probably, Mr. Husenbeth or some other gentleman of his communion will say, that we Protestants have no right to the title of CATHOLICS:

¹ End of Religious Controvers. Lett. xxv.

and, in support of the assertion, such an individual will peradventure cite against us the decision of Pope Gregory VII. ; that *A person is not to be deemed a CATHOLIC, who does not agree with the Roman Church*¹.

With respect to the decision of this not very conciliatory Pontiff, it will be quite time enough to admit its validity, when the position set forth in it shall have been *probatively established* : and, with respect to the extraordinary allegation of *insult*, I may fairly appeal to the whole world, as to the *real* quarter from which *insult* proceeds ; I may fairly appeal to the whole world, whether it be a greater *insult*, to style a confessed member of the Latin Church a *Romanist* and a *Papist* while his *common* right in the *generic* name of CATHOLIC is freely allowed, or to declare roundly that the name of CATHOLIC is *peculiar* to the members of the Latin Church and that he who disagrees with that particular Church is *not in any wise* even to be deemed a CATHOLIC.

9. On the whole, the question of *insult* being now tolerably well settled, since so very unfair an use has been made of a fashion, which origi-

¹ Quod CATHOLICUS non habeatur, qui non concordat Romanæ Ecclesiæ. Dictat. Greg. VII. in Epist. lib. ii. epist. 55.

nated, I believe, in mere unthinking complaisance childishly conceded to arrogant and offensive importunity: the idle humour of calling the Romanists *Catholics*, in their own professedly *exclusive* sense of the word CATHOLIC, ought surely, with one accord, to be systematically discontinued by every Protestant who *himself* claims to be a member of the Catholic or Universal Church of Christ.

10. As for Dr. Milner, had that gentleman somewhat varied the form of his very ingenious question propounded to a thoughtless Anglican; and had he, with this mere phraseological variation, asked the lowest protestant day-labourer, *Whether he was a member of Christ's Universal Church upon earth, the existence of which he professes to believe when he recites the Apostles' Creed:* I will venture to affirm, that the answer, instead of being NO, would promptly have been YES.

X. For the loan of books which I did not possess, I have to acknowledge my obligation, to my respected Diocesan Dr. Van-Mildert the present Bishop of Durham, and to my valuable friends Mr. Archdeacon Vernon and Mr. Brewster.

For passages extracted or verified from books, to which in my retired situation I had no con-

venient access, I have to thank my equally valuable friends, Dr. Ellerton, Dr. Bardinell, and Dr. Routh President of Magdalen College.

But, above all, I must pay my due tribute of acknowledgement to my late kind and lamented neighbour Mr. Anstey, without the use of whose library I should have been compelled, simply for want of tools, to decline the task imposed upon me by a respectable layman of my own communion. Before his death, Mr. Anstey, with that feeling of liberality which marked all his actions, converted his loan into a donation : and the goodly tale of folios, some originally my own, others the gift of my deceased worthy friend, which now decorate or crowd my *penetrals*, has set me very much at ease in respect to inquiries into primitive Antiquity.

If in any measure I have profited from the timely assistance of the aforesaid folios, to God and his Christ be the glory, and to my Mother the Church of England be the benefit ?

LONG-NEWTON RECTORY,

Dec. 12, 1829.

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THE TESTIMONY OF HISTORY AGAINST THE PECU-
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- I. When a doctrine or a practice is alleged to be *apostolical*, the asserted **FACT** must be substantiated by competent evidence, before our admission of such doctrine or such practice can be justly demanded. p. 504.

- II. Reason and Faith have each their own proper province.
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- III. To a test of this description the peculiarities of Romanism have been subjected; and, how lamentably deficient the answer of the Latins is to the requisition that *the FACT alleged by the Council of Trent should be substantiated by historical testimony*, we have now seen both *negatively* and *positively*. p. 506.
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BOOK I.

THE TESTIMONY OF HISTORY IN FAVOUR OF THE
PECULIARITIES OF ROMANISM.

Πατρίους παραδοχάς, ἅς θ' ὀμήλικας χρόνῳ
Κεκτήμεθ', οὐδεὶς αὐτὰ καταβαλεῖ λόγος,
Οὐδ' ἦν δι' ἄκρων τὸ σοφὸν εὐρηγται φρενῶν.

Eurip. Bacch. ver. 201—203.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT.

By the members of the earliest Church Catholic, the doctrines, taught by the Apostles, *must* have been received as infallibly true: and, since it is morally impossible that any very material corruptions or alterations could have *universally* taken place in the course of the two or three first ecclesiastical descents, the theological system, *unanimously* received by ALL the different branches of the mutually communicating primitive Catholic Church, *must* have been that, which in the course of their preaching the Apostles orally delivered, and which under their direction or by their personal instrumentality was finally committed to imperishable writing.

I. On the familiar and acknowledged FACT, that *All the united branches of the one Church Catholic symbolised in a system of Theology, which, through the medium of one or two or at the most three descents, they unanimously professed themselves to have received from the Apostles,* was built the argument from prescription, pressed with such irresistible

force against the heretics of the first and second centuries by Irenèus and Tertullian ¹.

Each varying heresy had a commencement *without* the Catholic Church. Consequently, no heresy could deduce its origin *from* an Apostle.

But the very reverse of this was the case with that system of Theology, which, *on the professed and undeniable ground of apostolic derivation*, was *unanimously* received by ALL the then mutually communicating branches of the one Church Catholic.

Hence the theological system of the early Catholic Church could not but be apostolic, while the various discordant upstart systems of heresy stood self-precluded from all claim to apostolicity: and hence, while Irenèus and Tertullian distinctly lay down *the system universally received by the Catholic Church on the professed ground of derivation from the Apostles*; Tertullian propounds the indisputable canon, *Whatever is first, is true; whatever is later, is spurious* ².

II. An extension of the argument, employed by Irenèus and Tertullian, is evidently the basis

¹ For the distinct and fearless assertion of this vital FACT, without the substantiation of which the whole argument from prescription is worthless, see Iren. adv. hæ. lib. i. c. 3. p. 36. edit. 1570. Tertull. de præscript. adv. hæ. § 6. Oper. p. 102. edit. Rhenan. Ibid. § 11. Oper. p. 107. Ibid. § 14. Oper. p. 109.

² Iren. adv. hæ. lib. i. c. 2. lib. iii. c. 4. Tertull. de præscript. adv. hæ. § 4, 11. Oper. p. 100, 107. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 1. Oper. p. 405.

of that scheme of oral tradition, which, under the character of *the unwritten word of God*; the Roman Church holds to be authoritatively concurrent with *his written word*¹.

The Catholics of the present age, it is contended, deliver nothing, save what was unanimously delivered to them by their predecessors: and their predecessors professed, that they, in like manner, delivered nothing, save what had been unanimously delivered to them by a yet prior generation.

Now this same unanimous profession, it is stoutly alleged as an indisputable matter of FACT, runs back all the way to the apostolic age itself: nor, in any one particular step of transmission, can it ever be falsified.

Consequently, as from such a FACT no doubt it is very legitimately concluded, the oral tradition of the Catholic Church cannot but set forth the doctrines and practices taught and enjoined by the Apostles from the very beginning.

1. Such reasoning, like the exactly similar rea-

¹ Hanc veritatem et disciplinam contineri in libris scriptis, et sine scripto traditionibus, quæ ipsius Christi ore ab Apostolis acceptæ, aut ab ipsis Apostolis, Spiritu Sancto dictante, quasi per manus traditæ, ad nos usque pervenerunt, orthodoxorum Patrum exempla secuta, omnes libros tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti, cum utriusque unus Deus sit auctor, nec non traditiones ipsas, tum ad fidem, tum ad mores, pertinentes, tanquam vel ore tenus a Christo vel a Spiritu Sancto dictatas et continua successione in Ecclesia Catholica conservatas (Sacrosancta Synodus), PARI PIETATIS AFFECTU AC REVERENTIA, suscipit et veneratur. Concil. Trident. sess. iv. p. 7, 8. Antwerp. 1644.

soning of the Jews in favour of those traditions by which they made void the Law, is doubtless plausible : but, as it professedly and indeed necessarily appeals to a FACT, by that FACT it must obviously be judged.

When Irenæus and Tertullian, in the second century, first employed the argument before us ; if the heretics of the day could by sufficient evidence have set aside *the FACT upon which it claimed to repose*, we instinctively perceive that the argument itself would have been altogether worthless.

This, accordingly, is acknowledged by Tertullian : for he very justly tells us ; that *Truth is a thing, against which no person can prescriptively set up either space of time or patronage of individuals or privilege of countries*¹.

Hence, if direct historical testimony *contradicts* any part of the oral tradition advocated by the Church of Rome, it is clear, that the argument from prescription, as *now* employed in the cause of oral tradition, becomes palpably null and inconclusive : for the argument professedly rests upon an alleged FACT ; and that pretended FACT is set aside by direct historical testimony.

The same remark applies to the excellent canon of Vincent of Lerins, who flourished during the fifth century.

In the Catholic Church, says he, *we must especi-*

¹ Hoc exigere veritatem, cui nemo præscribere potest, non spatium temporum, non patrocinia personarum, non privilegium regionum. Tertull. de virgin. veland. Oper. p. 490.

ally take care to hold that, which EVERY WHERE and ALWAYS and BY ALL has been believed: for this is truly and properly catholic ¹.

His canon is plainly built upon the ancient argument from prescription: and, accordingly, it rests upon the same allegation of a FACT. Let the FACT, then, in any single instance, be disproved: and the canon, so far as that instance is concerned, becomes, even *ex professo*, totally inapplicable. If, by historical testimony, a doctrine or a practice can be shewn to have been *not* received EVERY WHERE and ALWAYS and BY ALL: *then* the canon of Vincent, so far from requiring the *adoption* of such doctrine or practice, most forcibly enjoins its *rejection*.

2. On this very intelligible principle, the oral tradition of the Roman Church cannot be admitted in evidence that *The peculiarities of the latin faith and practice are of apostolic origin*, until the FACT, upon which professedly reposes the argument from prescription as *now* employed, shall *itself* have been clearly substantiated: and the plain necessity of the previous establishment of the alleged FACT in question ultimately brings the asserted apostolicity of latin peculiarities to the satisfactory decision of historical testimony.

III. That such is the true state of the case,

¹ In ipsa item Catholica Ecclesia magnoperè curandum est, ut id teneamus, quod UBIQUE, quod SEMPER, quod AB OMNIBUS, creditum est: hoc est enim verè proprièque catholicum. Vincent. Lerin. Commonit. lib. i. c. 3.

seems to have been felt by the more reasoning part of the Latins themselves: for, on this precise basis, the two modern Treatises of Mr. Berington and Dr. Trevern have been avowedly constructed¹.

The FACT, to be substantiated, is *the EVERY WHERE and ALWAYS and BY ALL*, so judiciously propounded by Vincent of Lerins: and the only historical medium, through which that FACT *can* be substantiated, is *the testimony of Scripture and the testimony of the early ecclesiastical writers*².

Accordingly, both these authors proceed upon the plan here specified: for, *by the testimony of Scripture and by the testimony of the early ecclesiastical writers*, they attempt to establish the alleged and very necessary FACT: that, *Since all the peculiarities of Romanism have been always received by the Catholic Church from the very beginning, all those peculiarities must be of apostolic origination.*

IV. In their *adoption* of this line of evidence,

¹ The Faith of Catholics, confirmed by Scripture, and attested by the Fathers of the five first centuries of the Church. By Joseph Berington. London 1813. Discussion Amicale sur l'Eglise Anglicane et en general sur la Reformation. Par M. Trevern, l'Eveque d'Aire. A Paris, 1824. Dr. Trevern has been translated from Aire to Strasbourg.

² Rigaltius, himself a Romanist, well remarks in one of his observations on Cyprian: *Quæ sane sunt a Vincentio verissimè ac prudentissimè pronunciata, si non alia sint a majoribus tradita, quam quæ majores ab Apostolis susceperant: cæterum, sub nomine ac persona majorum, per fatuos aut sophistas, asinina aut sophistica pro apostolicis traderentur.*

there is nothing to censure and every thing to praise : but, in their *management* of it, there is a particular, which will scarcely receive the approbation of an accurate inquirer.

Mr. Berington and the Bishop of Strasbourg are profuse in their citations from writers of the fourth and fifth centuries : but they are lamentably penurious in the evidence which they produce from writers of the three first ages.

So far as my own reading extends, the same remark equally applies to all other divines of the Roman Communion, who take up a similar mode of investigation. They are copious, when they should be sparing : they are sparing, when they should be copious.

1. Now, with respect to *some* among the peculiarities of the Latin Church, I am not aware that any person *denies* their existence during the lapse of the fourth and fifth centuries.

To *establish*, therefore, by a large adduction of passages, what no one dreams of *controverting*, seems little better than mere misapplied labour.

2. With respect, again, to *others* among those peculiarities, the existence of which even during the fourth and fifth centuries may well be *doubted*, it is plainly altogether foreign from the *real* matter in hand to adduce *any* evidence from the writers of *those* periods for the purpose of establishing the alleged fact of their APOSTOLIC origination.

In conducting a discussion of the *present* na-

ture, we must never suffer ourselves to forget its *true* object.

Its *true* object is AN INQUIRY, WHETHER THE PECULIARITIES OF THE LATIN CHURCH WERE AUTHORITATIVELY INCUCCATED BY THE INSPIRED APOSTLES, AND WHETHER PROFESSEDDY AS SUCH THEY WERE UNIVERSELLY RECEIVED BY THE EARLIEST CATHOLIC BELIEVERS FROM THE VERY BEGINNING.

To the satisfactory promotion of *this* object, citations from writers of the fourth and fifth centuries are obviously *quite irrelevant*. With the most liberal admission of their pertinence, they *can* only establish the existence of *this* or *that* peculiarity *during the lapse of the fourth and fifth centuries*. But, from the roman theologians, an accurate inquirer very reasonably demands the historical substantiation of *the divinely authorised existence of each latin peculiarity from the very beginning*. As Vincent excellently teaches us, *We, in the Catholic Church, must carefully hold that which has ALWAYS been believed*. Now a mere proof, even if the proof were ever so full and decisive, of *the existence of a latin peculiarity during the fourth and fifth ages*, can be no very satisfactory demonstration of the ALWAYS, which, by the sagacious monk of Lerins, is required as a *necessary* test of genuine Catholicism. In the abstract, a peculiarity, which exists some four or five hundred years after the christian era, *may* either have been really apostolical, or *may* have been altoge-

ther unknown in the time of the Apostles. But even the most cogent and invincible proof, that *such peculiarity existed in the fourth and fifth centuries*, is assuredly no proof whatever that *it was inculcated by the Apostles from the very beginning*.

3. The whole matter, in short, respecting citations from writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, resolves itself into this.

If such citations can demonstrate, what, from the testimony of yet earlier writers, may be *equally* demonstrated; they are superfluous: if they can *only* demonstrate, what, from the testimony of yet earlier writers, is *incapable* of demonstration; they are nugatory.

In *either* case, their adduction by latin theologians will be viewed, as a mere idle attempt to give to their cause an *apparent* strength by the ostentatious bringing forward of a perfectly useless mass of irrelevant evidence.

4. Should the adduction of such comparatively late testimony be defended upon the principle of the argument from prescription, the answer will constantly recur: that *the argument from prescription can never be legitimately used, until the FACT, upon which that argument professedly rests, shall itself have been first established*.

Now the utter inapplicability of this argument, to any testimony afforded by writers of the fourth and fifth centuries to *this* or to *that* peculiarity of Romanism *when such testimony is not corroborated by writers of a yet earlier period up to the age of*

the Apostles, may, with great ease, be *practically* shewn even through a mere simple statement of one out of many actual circumstances.

About the middle of the fourth century, the Emperor Julian distinctly alleged, against his christian contemporaries of the Church Catholic, the same *adoration of the wood of the cross*, as that which the Pagans offered up to the heaven-descended buckler of Mars or of Jupiter¹.

In reply to this perfectly specific allegation, Cyril of Alexandria, who wrote in the fifth century, proceeds, under the form of a retort courteous, through more than three folio pages of eloquent declamation, to ridicule the absurdity of worshipping the impure divinities of Paganism.

¹ Εἶτα, ὃ δυστυχεῖς ἄνθρωποι, σωζομένου τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν ὄπλου διοπετοῦς, ὃ κατέπεμψεν ὁ μέγας Ζεὺς, ἦτοι πατήρ Ἄρης, ἐνέχουρον διδοὺς οὐ λόγον, ἔργον δὲ, ὅτι τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ διηκεῖς προασπίσει, προσκυνεῖν ἀφέντες καὶ σέβεσθαι, τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ προσκυνεῖτε ξύλον, εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ σκιαγραφοῦντες ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ καὶ πρὸ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐγγράφοντες. Julian. apud Cyril. Alex. cont. Julian. lib. vi. p. 194. Lips. 1696.

I give the whole sentence, for the purpose of shewing that the charge of Julian is perfectly unambiguous. He ridicules the Christians, because they offered to the wood of the cross that precise adoration, which they refused, along with the pagan idolaters, to offer to the sacred buckler of Jove or Mars that was reputed to have fallen from heaven. This, in form, was the allegation. If, then, the Christians of the fourth and fifth centuries had *abhorred* such distinctly characterised cross-worship; for it is impossible to *misunderstand* the charge of the Emperor: the obvious answer of Cyril would have been A VERY BRIEF BUT VERY FLAT DENIAL.

But then, all the while, what he *ought* to have done if he *could* have done it, he *never once attempts to deny the accuracy of the charge preferred by Julian*¹.

Such being the case, from the concurrent testimony, positive and negative, both of Julian and of Cyril, I readily allow, with as much fulness as any Romanist can desire: that *the adoration of the wood of the cross existed in the fourth and fifth centuries.*

But does this acknowledged fact establish the yet additional fact so necessary to the cause of Tridentine Popery: that *the adoration of the cross was authoritatively enjoined by the Apostles, and that from them it was unanimously received by the earliest Church Catholic?*

On the principles of oral tradition, as advocated by modern Romanists through the medium of the ancient argument from prescription, the FACT, substantiated by the joint testimony of Julian and of Cyril, *ought* to establish the additional FACT of *the apostolicity of cross-worship*: yet the distinct *earlier* testimony of Minucius Felix, most effectually, and as if in very scorn of the favourite latin theory of oral tradition, precludes the possibility of any such establishment.

When charged by the pagan speaker Cecilius with *the worship of the cross*, Octavius, the christian speaker in the Dialogue of Minucius, *promptly*

¹ Cyril. Alex. cont. Julian. lib. vi. p. 194—198.

and *explicitly* denies ALTOGETHER that identical adoration, which, at a later period, when unequivocally alleged by Julian, Cyril was unable to disavow.

We neither, says Octavius, worship, nor covet, crosses ¹.

¹ Cruces, etiam, nec colimus, nec optamus. Minuc. Fel. Octav. p. 284. Lugdun. Batav. 1762.

The laconic, but quite decisive, brevity of Minucius curiously contrasts with the rambling *ambages* of the sorely perplexed and much irritated Cyril some two hundred years later.

Dr. Trevern, who is a staunch advocate for the undoubted apostolicity of cross-worship, does not despair of moulding to his wishes even the untractable testimony of Minucius Felix.

With this object, he takes upon himself to interpret the speaker Octavius, as meaning only to say, that *Christians adore not ALL crosses INDISCRIMINATELY*; the crosses, for instance, on which the two thieves were executed: and, on the strength of this gratuitous interpretation, he would broadly assert, that Octavius had not the least wish, in disagreement with the decisions of the second Council of Nice and the more recent Council of Trent, to deny, that *Christians do adore those which are made in imitation and in memory of the true cross*.

Thus glosses Dr. Trevern: to reconcile, however, the primitive testimony of Minucius Felix with the decisions of those two celebrated Synods, will, I fear, prove a task beyond the expository ingenuity of the Bishop of Strasbourg.

Even to say nothing of the total silence of the speaker Octavius respecting *any* adoration of Christ's cross, the interpretation, projected by Dr. Trevern, is utterly irreconcilable with the context.

Cecilius alleges, that Christians adored Christ and HIS CROSS in particular. *Nam, quod religioni nostræ, says Octavius in reply, hominem noxium et CRUCEM EJUS adscribitis, longe de vicinia veritatis erratis.* Min. Fel. Octav. p. 280.

Minucius Felix wrote about the year 220, or about one hundred and forty years anterior to the time when Julian brought forward against his christian contemporaries a direct accusation of *gross cross-worship*. From the evidence of Julian and Cyril it appears, that the worship of the cross prevailed in the Catholic Church during the fourth and fifth centuries : from the evidence of Minucius Felix it appears, that the worship of the cross did *not* prevail in the Catholic Church at the beginning of the third century. Therefore, as the

Now, to this *precise* allegation, a mere denial, that *Christians adored the crosses of ALL malefactors IN GENERAL*, were plainly no answer : for it were nugatory to deny a matter, which had never been charged upon them.

The crosses, therefore, mentioned by Octavius in his final reply, can only be material imitations of the true cross of Christ *EXCLUSIVELY*, then apparently beginning to be introduced symbolically into churches, and afterward by the second Council of Nice proposed to the relative adoration of the faithful.

I suppose the Bishop would fain ground his gloss upon the mere play of words, observable in the answer of Octavius : at least, no other even semblance of a basis for that gloss can I discover.

We neither worship, nor covet, crosses ; says Octavius : that is ; *We neither worship representations of Christ's cross (CRUCEM EJUS), nor have we the least wish to be crucified.*

If *such* be the groundwork of his lordship's projected interpretation, I conceive no other reply to be necessary, than the simple exhibition of the charge and the answer in immediate juxta-position.

Nam, quod religioni nostræ hominem noxium et CRUCEM EJUS ascribitis, longè de vicinia veritatis erratis.

CRUCES nec colimus, nec optamus.

worship of the cross *could not* have been *apostolically* inculcated upon the *earliest* Church Catholic: so, most clearly, it had crept into existence during the period which elapsed between the year 220 and the year 360. Hence the evidence of Minucius abundantly demonstrates, if indeed so plain a matter *requires* any demonstration: that *Mere unsupported citations from writers of the fourth and fifth centuries are utterly incapable of establishing the APOSTOLICAL origin of any of those peculiarities, which, by latin ecclesiastics, are so zealously and so pertinaciously advocated.*

V. On the perfectly intelligible grounds here laid down, it is manifest, that, with the most bountiful chronological allowance, the sole *really* effective historical testimony, produced by the Romanist, must be confined to *the three first centuries*: and, even *within* that period, no testimony will be legitimately conclusive, unless it form one of the links of a chain extending to the age of the Apostles themselves.

I need scarcely to add, that any portion of the more modern testimony of the three first ages, the evidence (for instance) of the third century or of the latter part of the third century, if, instead of being *confirmed*, it be directly *contradicted*, by yet earlier testimony, is, *a fortiori*, altogether useless and nugatory: and even the unsupported, though not formally contradicted, testimony of the third century will only be a shade more cogent, than the similarly unsupported testimony of

the fourth or fifth century: for, in historically determining the *apostolicity* or the *non-apostolicity* of any given doctrine or practice, the most ancient testimony will always be the most valuable.

In fine, while the laws of historical evidence clearly forbid the Romanist to indulge in the delusive habit of largely adducing testimonies later than the third century; the cautious inquirer must learn distinctly to impress and firmly to retain upon his mind the *exclusively true* point of investigation.

Now *that* point is: not *What doctrines or practices might be received in the Church during the lapse of the fourth or fifth or any subsequent century*; but, simply and solely, *Whether we have sufficient historical evidence, that the peculiarities of the modern Latin Church were originally inculcated by the inspired Apostles and were from them universally received by the earliest race of primitive Christians.*

VI. In the first part of the present discussion, it is my intention simply to consider the evidence, which, by roman ecclesiastics, is produced from writers of the three earliest centuries, for the purpose of substantiating the HISTORICAL FACT so repeatedly alleged by the Fathers of the Tridentine Council: that *The peculiarities of the Latin Church were originally inculcated by the Apostles, and were from them unanimously and universally and professedly received in the very beginning by the strictly primitive Christians.*

While prosecuting this examination, I shall bring forward no testimony to the contrary effect: I shall barely inquire; *Whether the evidence from the three first centuries, as produced by the Romanists themselves, is sufficient to substantiate the FACT, for the establishment of which it is avowedly produced.*

Should this evidence turn out to be insufficient, the Latins, even on their own shewing, cannot reasonably demand the admission of their peculiarities. Still less, then, can they demand it, should we find yet additionally in the sequel, that *The apostolic origin and the primeval unanimous acceptance of those peculiarities are positively contradicted by direct historical testimony.*

CHAPTER II.

INFALLIBILITY.

AT the very head of latin peculiarities, stands the claim of Infallibility or Inerrancy : a claim, which, if substantiated, will of course compel the admission of every other peculiarity.

According to the decision of Pope Gregory VII, *The Roman Church never erred : and, as Scripture bears witness, it never will err to all perpetuity*¹.

I. When such a claim is thus boldly propounded, and when a direct appeal in its favour is made to Scripture itself : we are obviously led to inquire, what passages of Holy Writ can be produced in evidence, and what testimony is afforded by the early ecclesiastical writers of the three first centuries that from the beginning this claim was always admitted and defended.

1. The passages, adduced from Scripture by

¹ Romana Ecclesia nunquam erravit : nec in perpetuum, testante Scriptura, errabit. Dictat. Pap. Gregor. VII. in Epist. lib. ii. epist. 55. Labb. Concil. vol. x. p. 110, 111.

the latin theologians for the purpose of demonstrating the infallibility of their Church, are the following.

(1.) *I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter : and upon this rock I will build my Church ; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it* ¹.

(2.) *Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them* ².

(3.) *Jesus came, and spake unto them, saying : All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost ; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. And, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world* ³.

(4.) *He, that heareth you, heareth me : and he, that despiseth you, despiseth me : and he, that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me* ⁴.

(5.) *I will pray the Father : and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever ; even the Spirit of truth* ⁵.

(6.) *Howbeit, when he, the Spirit of truth, is come ; he will guide you into all truth : for he shall not speak of himself ; but, whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak : and he will shew you things to come* ⁶.

¹ Matt. xvi. 18.

² Matt. xviii. 20.

³ Matt. xxviii. 18—20.

⁴ Luke x. 16.

⁵ John xiv. 16, 17.

⁶ John xvi. 13.

(7.) *For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things* ¹.

(8.) *These things write I unto thee,—that thou mayest know, how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth* ².

2. If, from such scriptural passages agreeably to their well understood aboriginal interpretation, the early ecclesiastics deduced the infallibility of the Roman Church: we may obviously expect to find them perpetually recognizing and defending it. Accordingly, the following passages are adduced, as containing their distinct testimony in its favour.

(1.) The first set of passages occurs in the writings of Ignatius, who flourished early in the second century, and who had been a hearer of the Apostle John.

While yet among you, I cried with a loud voice: Attend to the Bishop and the Presbytery and the Deacons ³.

Farewell in Jesus Christ; being obedient to the Bishop as to the commandment, and in like manner to the Presbytery ⁴.

¹ Acts xv. 28.

² 1 Tim. iii. 15.

³ Ἐκραύγασα μεταξύ ὧν, ἐλάλουν μεγάλη φωνῇ· Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, καὶ διακόνοις. Ignat. Epist. ad Philadelph. § vii. Cotel. Patr. Apost. vol. ii. p. 32.

⁴ Ἐρῶσθε ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς τῇ

I exhort, that you diligently do all things in the unanimity of God, the Bishop in the place of God presiding over you ¹.

(2.) The next set of passages will be found in the Treatise of Irenæus, who wrote in the latter half of the second century.

Wherefore, Christians ought to obey the Presbyters in the Church, those who have their succession from the Apostles, as we have shewn; who, with the succession of the episcopate, have received, according to the good pleasure of the Father, the sure grace of truth ².

Where the free gifts of the Lord are placed, there we ought to learn the truth from those, with whom is the succession of the Church from the Apostles, and among whom prevails soundness and irreprehensibility of discourse. For these, both guard our faith in the true God the maker of all things, and increase our love toward the Son of God who made such dispositions on our account, and explain to us the Scriptures without danger ³.

ἐντολῇ, ὁμοίως καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ. Ignat. Epist. ad Trall. § xiii. p. 25.

¹ Παραινῶ ἐν ὁμοιοῖα Θεοῦ, σπουδάσετε πάντα πράσσειν, προκαθημέριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ. Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes. § vi. p. 18, 19.

² Quapropter eis qui in Ecclesia sunt presbyteris obaudire oportet, his qui successionem habent ab Apostolis, sicut ostendimus; qui cum episcopatus successione charisma veritatis certum, secundum placitum Patris, acceperunt. Iren. adv. hæres. lib. iv. c. 43. p. 277.

³ Ubi igitur charismata Domini posita sunt, ibi discere oportet

(3.) Another set of passages is taken from Tertullian, who flourished at the end of the second century.

*It is unlaureful for us to indulge in any thing according to our own humour : nor may we choose what, from his own mere whim, any person may have introduced. We have for our authors the Apostles of the Lord, who not even themselves selected what they might introduce according to their own humour, but faithfully delivered to the nations the discipline which they had received from Christ*¹.

Let us grant that all the Churches have erred— Shall we say, then, that the Holy Spirit has looked upon no one of them to lead it into truth, though sent for this very purpose from Christ, though be-

tet veritatem, apud quos est ea quæ est ab Apostolis Ecclesiæ successio, et id quod est sanum et irreprobabile sermonis constat. Hi enim et eam, quæ est in unum Deum qui omnia fecit, fidem nostram custodiunt; et eam, quæ est in Filium Dei, dilectionem adaugent, qui tantas dispositiones propter nos fecit; et Scripturas sine periculo nobis exponunt. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iv. c. 45. p. 279.

The Bishop of Strasbourg, by way, I suppose, of making Irenæus bear a somewhat more precise testimony in favour of infallibility, has thought it expedient to render the latin *sine periculo* by the french *sans danger d'erreurs*. Discuss. Amic. vol. i. p. 127. Where did Dr. Trevern find his *d'erreurs*?

¹ Nobis vero nihil ex nostro arbitrio indulgere licet, sed nec eligere quod aliquis de arbitrio suo induxerit. Apostolos Domini habemus autores, qui nec ipsi quicquam ex suo arbitrio, quod inducerent, elegerunt: sed acceptam a Christo disciplinam fideliter nationibus adsignaverunt. Tertull. de præscript. adv. hæ. § 2. Oper. p. 97.

sought for this very purpose of the Father, that he might be the teacher of truth? Shall we say, that the agent of God, the vicar of Christ, has neglected his office, suffering the Churches to understand and believe differently, than he himself preached through the Apostles¹?

(4.) Clement of Alexandria, who also flourished about the end of the second century, is considered likewise as bearing testimony to the same effect.

Those, who will, may discover the truth—For they may learn demonstratively through the Scriptures themselves, how heresies have fallen away, and how in truth alone and in the primeval Church there is the most accurate knowledge and the truly best selection².

(5.) There is yet another set of passages adduced from Cyprian, who lived toward the middle of the third century.

We ought firmly to hold and vindicate unity, more especially we Bishops who preside in the Church,

¹ Age nunc omnes erraverint—Nullam respexerit Spiritus Sanctus uti eam in veritatem deduceret, ad hoc missus a Christo, ad hoc postulatus a Patre, ut esset doctor veritatis? Neglexerit officium Dei villicus, Christi vicarius, sinens ecclesias aliter interim intelligere, aliter credere, quam ipse per Apostolos prædicabat. Tertull. de præscript. adv. hæc. § 9. Oper. p. 105.

² Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ βουλομένοις ἔξεσται καὶ τὸ εὐρεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν—καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τῶν γραφῶν ἐκμανθάνειν ἀποδεικτικῶς, ὅπως μὲν ἀπεσφάλησαν αἱ αἱρέσεις, ὅπως δὲ ἐν μόνῃ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἦτε ἀκριβεστάτη γνώσις καὶ ἡ τῷ ὄντι ἀρίστη αἴρεσις. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vii. Oper. p. 755. Colon. 1688.

*that we may prove also the Episcopate itself to be one and undivided—God is one, and Christ is one, and his Church is one, and the faith is one, and the common people coupled into the solid unity of the body by the glue of concord*¹.

*There is one Episcopate, diffused through the concordant numerosity of many Bishops*².

II. These several texts from Scripture, and these several passages from the writers of the three first centuries, are adduced by Dr. Trevern and Mr. Berington, under the aspect of historical

¹ Unitatem firmiter tenere et vindicare debemus, maxime Episcopi, qui in Ecclesia præsidemus, ut Episcopatum quoque ipsum unum atque indivisum probemus—Deus unus est, et Christus unus, et una Ecclesia ejus, et fides una et plebs in solidam corporis unitatem concordiaæ glutino copulata. Cyprian. de unit. eccles. Oper. vol. i. p. 108, 119. Oxon. 1682.

Dr. Trevern, in a very slovenly manner, first runs these two widely separated passages into one with a direct inversion of their collocation, and then completes the matter by a gross mis-translation.

L'Eglise Catholique est unie entre toutes ses parties, et consolidée par le ciment (glutino) des évêques adhérens les uns aux autres. Nous qui sommes évêques, et qui présidons dans l'Eglise, nous devons particulièrement et plus fermement embrasser cette unité et la défendre. Discuss. Amic. vol. i. p. 126, 127.

I had some difficulty in discovering the two passages, which the Bishop has masqueraded into one: for, according to his usual loose mode of reference, he merely tells us, that we may find his citation *au livre de l'Unité*.

² Episcopatus unus, Episcoporum multorum concordie numerositate diffusus. Cyprian. epist. ad Antonian. lv. Oper. vol. ii. p. 112.

testimony¹. We have, therefore, simply to consider, whether, on any intelligible principles of evidence, they substantiate the authoritative decision of Pope Gregory : that *The Roman Church never erred, and that it never will err to all perpetuity.*

1. With regard to the texts from Scripture, some of them indeed promise *personally* to the inspired Apostles what is equivalent to Infallibility : but, as for those which are of *general* application, they vouch for nothing more, than that, through his good providence, Christ will preserve his Church, in *this* branch or in *that* branch, from deadly and fundamental and apostatic error.

Such a promise is, of necessity, implied, even in the constitution of the Church : for, if those essentials, which compose the very being of Christianity and without which Christianity would cease to be Christianity, should *universally* become extinct or should *universally* be rejected ; it is clear, that the gates of hell would, in that case, prevail. But, that the gates of hell shall *not* prevail against his Church, however widely in some quarters and during some seasons error and heresy may be dominant, Christ has expressly declared. Hence we may rest assured, that, in *one* branch or *another* branch, the Church will never cease to be the ground and pillar of the truth.

¹ Trevern's Discuss. Amic. lett. iii. vol. i. p. 102—170. Berington's Faith of Cathol. p. 112—114, 62, 63.

But, while this consolatory position is clearly implied in the terms of Christ's promise, we shall vainly seek in Scripture for a declaration, that *any one* provincial or national Church is specially invested with the high privilege of perpetual infallible inerrancy. As Tostatus of Avila, himself a Romanist even of the fifteenth century, well remarks: *The Catholic Church never errs, because it never errs in ALL its branches*¹. But, in respect to any *single* branch, there is no such security. Yet is not the *general* promise to the Church Catholic thereby invalidated. For, as the same Tostatus again very justly observes, *The Church of the Latins is not the Catholic Church, but only a certain part of it: wherefore, even though the whole of that particular Church should have erred, this were no proof of the error of the Catholic Church; because the Catholic Church still remains in those branches which err not, whether, in point of number, these be more or fewer than the erring branches*².

The interpretation of Tostatus is, I believe, the identical interpretation of the whole body of those who collectively are styled *Protestants*; certainly

¹ Ecclesia Universalis nunquam errat, quia nunquam tota errat. Tostat. Abulens. Præfat. in Matt. quæst. xiii.

² Ecclesia Latinorum non est Ecclesia Universalis, sed quædam pars ejus: ideo, etiamsi tota ipsa errâset, non errabat Ecclesia Universalis; quia manet Ecclesia Universalis in partibus illis quæ non errant, sive illæ sint numero plures quam errantes, sive non. Tostat. Abulens. quæst. iv. in Matt. ad proleg. 2.

it is that of the Church of England¹: and of its soundness I see no reason to doubt. At all events, the texts are palpably insufficient to establish, on scriptural evidence, *the infallible inerrancy of the Church of Rome*².

2. Equally irrelevant are the passages adduced from the writers of the three first centuries. Scanty as those passages are in number, they are likewise altogether defective in point of efficiency: for they establish no such infallibility of the Roman Church, as that which Pope Gregory propounds and which every modern Latin so stoutly maintains.

(1.) The passages from Ignatius, brought forward by the Bishop of Strasbourg, are altogether wide of the mark.

They distinctly prove Ignatius to have been what is now called *a high-churchman*: but they contain not a hint even of Catholic, still less therefore of Roman, Infallibility.

(2.) The passages from Irenæus and Tertullian and Clement turn altogether upon the argument from prescription.

¹ Art. xix.

² Mr. Berington additionally cites Acts xv. 1, 22, 23, 28, 29, 41. See his *Faith of Cathol.* p. 112, 113. I omit giving those texts at length, because I am totally unable to discover how they establish the Infallibility of the Church of Rome. So far as I can perceive, they have not the very slightest bearing upon the question. The curious inquirer, however, may read and judge for himself.

This argument, however, though highly valuable when legitimately managed, is powerless, as we have already seen, unless the FACT, upon which it professedly rests, shall *itself* have been first substantiated.

I may add, that the second passage from Tertullian sets forth the precise view of the question, which is taken by Protestants, and which is so well exhibited by that judicious Romanist Tostatatus of Avila.

(3.) The passages from Cyprian are totally silent on the topic of Infallibility.

They merely propound, what in the abstract few will be disposed to controvert, the evils of schism and the benefits of unity ¹.

¹ Mr. Berington cites also a passage from Origen, who flourished about the middle of the third century. Faith of Cathol. p. 114. The statement, which it contains, is undoubtedly true: but it is nothing whatsoever to the purpose. I subjoin it in his own translation.

Let him look to it, who, arrogantly puffed up, contemns the apostolic words. To me it is good, to adhere to apostolic men as to God and his Christ, and to draw intelligence from the Scriptures according to the sense that has been delivered by them—If we follow the mere letter of the Scriptures, and take the interpretation of the Law as the Jews commonly explain it, I shall blush to confess, that the Lord should have given such laws—But, if the Law of God be understood as the Church teaches, then truly does it transcend all human laws and is worthy of him that gave it. Orig. Homil. vii. in Levit. tom. xi. p. 224, 226.

This passage exists only in the latin version of Ruffinus of Aquileia, who flourished in the fifth century. Mr. Berington

III. It is urged, however, by the strenuous advocates of the Latin Church, that the Church of

himself very truly remarks, that the Homilies of Origen, which are not extant in Greek, are thought to have been rather loosely translated by Ruffinus. Hence, as the latin version is confessedly paraphrastic and argumentative, we can only receive its testimony to doctrine or to practice, as the testimony of the *fifth* century. Faith of Cathol. p. 201. Such being the case, it will be foreign to my plan to notice in future any passages, which Mr. Berington may adduce from the latin version of Origen under the aspect of their containing evidence of the *third* age: and I must needs say, that he himself, even by his own shewing, ought to have arranged them, as the testimony of Ruffinus, not of Origen.

As for the passage which I have here gratuitously given at length, it propounds nothing but what every member of the Church of England is quite ready to admit, though he will probably be unable to discover in it any attestation to the Infallibility of the Church of Rome. We Anglicans, who are no advocates for the wild licence of that arbitrary private interpretation which some have unskilfully misdeemed the very principle of Protestantism, receive, as *our* exclusive rule of Faith, *Holy Scripture as understood by primitive Antiquity*.

Nos, et ex Sacris Libris, quos scimus non posse fallere, certam quandam Religionis formam quæsisisse: et ad veterum Patrum atque Apostolorum primitivam Ecclesiam, hoc est, ad primordia atque initia, tanquam ad fontes, rediisse. Apol. Eccles. Anglic. author. Johan. Juell. apud Enchir. Theol. vol. i. p. 340.

Opto, cum Melancthone et Ecclesia Anglicana, per canalem Antiquitatis deduci ad nos dogmata Fidei e fonte Sacræ Scripturæ derivata. Alioquin, quis futurus est novandi finis? Casaub. Epist. 744.

These are the words of soberness and right reason. Let Mr. Berington historically prove to us, that the theologians of his

Rome, taken in the largest sense, is virtually equivalent to the Catholic Church : and the mode, in which they would establish this paradox, is through the medium of the assertion ; that *None are members of the Church Catholic save those who are in communion with and in subjection to the Roman Patriarch*¹.

In proof of this large assertion, we might well ask : *Where does Scripture declare communion with the Bishop of Rome to be the necessary test of Catholicity ; and From which of the writers of the three first centuries do we learn, that none, save the spiritual subjects of that Prelate, are to be accounted Catholic Christians ?*

But it matters little to ask for what can never be given. The testimony of history, even as adduced by the Romanists themselves, substantiates not the inerrancy of the Catholic Church in *all* its several branches : still less, therefore, does it establish the doctrinal infallibility and the perpetual inerrancy of *any one* mere provincial or national or patriarchal Church. We learn nothing

communio draw intelligence from the Scriptures according to the sense that has been delivered by apostolic men : and he may then fairly bring to bear upon us the preceding passage from the latin version of Ruffinus. Without this antecedent proof, I really discern not the pertinence of his citation. It may not be useless to remark, that his Work abounds with quotations equally irrelevant.

¹ Quod Catholicus non habeatur, qui non concordat Romanæ Ecclesiæ. Dictat. Pap. Gregor. VII. in Epist. lib. ii. epist. 55. Labb. Concil. vol. x. p. 111.

from it, save the existence of an authoritative declaration or prophecy : that *The essentials of Christianity should never become wholly extinct or should never be universally rejected*. As for the historical establishment of Pope Gregory's decision, that *The Roman Church never erred and never will err to all perpetuity*; it is still, if I mistake not, a desideratum in latin theology.

IV. Since the Romanists, however, are far more quick-sighted in discovering the proofs of their peculiarities than the somewhat undiscerning members of protestant communions, let us, for a moment, suppose, that the Infallibility of the Latin Church has been actually substantiated past all reasonable contradiction : still, before any particular *use* can be made of it *in absolute practice*, there is yet another point, which must be both distinctly enunciated and historically demonstrated.

Even if Scripture itself, quite plainly, though in specialities indefinitely, had taught us, that *The Church of Rome is infallible* ; we could, in the very nature of things, have derived no *practical* benefit from that declaration, unless the specific organ, through which that highly privileged Church should propound its unerring decisions, had *likewise* been precisely and unequivocally defined : for, *without* such authoritative definition of the specific organ, even though a matter should in point of fact have been infallibly propounded, *we* in point of self-application could never know with

certainty that that matter *had* been propounded infallibly.

The Romanists, if questioned on this topic, pretend not to say, that every individual layman or every individual priest or every individual bishop or even every individual national branch of their infallible Church is severally and personally infallible. *Where, then, is the precious gift of Infallibility deposited: and From whose hands, specifically, must we seek an infallible settlement of every disputed doctrine or practice?*

In reply to these questions, some of the roman divines assure us, that *The Pope, when speaking ex cathedra and without contradiction from the great body of the catholic bishops, is clearly infallible*: others *deny* the infallibility of the Pope; and declare, that *Infallibility is deposited with General Councils*: others again maintain, that *General Councils are not infallible, unless their decisions shall have received the approbation of the Pope, who yet, all the while, is himself fallible.*

Now what can a plain man think of the *practical* use of an infallibility, respecting the deposit of which its very advocates are themselves so disgracefully at variance? Had God really conferred the gift of infallibility either upon the Roman Church or upon any other Church, can we, without blasphemy, believe, that he would spontaneously have frustrated his own purposes by leaving us altogether in the dark as to the precise organ through which that gift was to be adminis-

tered? What profit can any man possibly derive from the alleged infallibility of the Roman Church, if he be quite uncertain: whether the infallibility itself be lodged with Pope, or Council, or Council and Pope conjointly; whether it alike appertain to all the three severally; or whether it belong solely to one out of the three, so that the other two stand completely excluded?

But, even if the Romanists were agreed among themselves as to the precise organ through which the oracles of infallibility are to be uttered, we should still find it necessary to call upon them for historical demonstration.

Let all unanimously assert: that *Infallibility is lodged with the Pope*. From Scripture and from the writers of the three first ages, we request a proof of the assertion.

Let all unanimously assert: that *Infallibility is deposited with General Councils*. Still, as reasonable beings, we require proof from Scripture and from the writers of the three first centuries.

Let all unanimously assert: that *Neither General Councils nor Popes separately are infallible, but that infallibility is lodged solely with the two conjointly; so that General Councils are infallible only when their decisions are ratified by a singly fallible Pope*. Again, from Scripture and from the same primitive writers, we require an establishment of the assertion ¹.

¹ No substantiation of any one of these three hypotheses has been presented to us either by Mr. Berington or by the

We are sometimes told, that, whatever subordinate differences there may be, all are at least agreed upon *one point*: *Whether Popes and Councils separately be fallible or infallible; at any rate, General Councils, when ratified by the Pope, must assuredly be viewed as possessing undoubted infallibility.*

Now, even if this *were* the case, we should be no nearer to the end of our difficulties: for, though two Romanists might thence equally admit the infallibility of a decision when made by a Council *thus* circumstanced, they would plainly quite differ as to the fallibility or infallibility of a decision made either by a Pope *ex cathedra* or by a Council *differently* circumstanced; and still we should no less require proof, from Scripture and from the early writers, that *an Ecumenical Council, ratified by the Pope, is really infallible.*

But, in truth, I suspect, that it is *in no wise* the case. At least, the language of the learned Albert Pighius strikes upon my own apprehension as altogether irreconcilable with any belief, on his part, in the infallibility of Councils however circumstanced. He asserts, that *General Councils are not of divine, but of merely human, institution*: and he states, that *they originate only from a dictate of right reason; for doubtful matters may be better debated by many than by few, more especially when*

Bishop of Strasbourg: yet surely, if they aim at rational conviction, the matter were not *quite* unimportant.

*the many are prudent and experienced persons. This assertion he proves on those very principles of historical testimony, to which Mr. Berington and the Bishop of Strasbourg profess themselves willing to resort. There is not a word, says he, about General Councils in the canonical Scriptures: nor, from the institution of the Apostles, did the primitive Church of Christ receive any thing special respecting them*¹. He afterward goes on to tell us, that, *From theological grounds, it is impossible to demonstrate, that the whole Church ought to be represented by a General Council; when that Council, so far from being the whole Church, is not a thousandth part of it. For this right of representation, says he, a General Council has, either from Christ, or from the Church. If it be said, From Christ: then not a single syllable can be produced from Scripture, where it is asserted that Christ made over the authority of the whole Church to some one or two hundred Bishops. If it be said, From the Church: then it will be necessary to establish two several matters; first, that the Church has ever conveyed such a right; secondly, that the Church possesses any such authority*².

V. This language of Pighius evidently brings us full upon yet another difficulty.

If we suppose the Church of Rome to possess

¹ In Scripturis Canonicis nullum de iis verbum est: nec, ex Apostolorum institutione, speciale quicquam de illis accepit illa primitiva Christi Ecclesia. Albert. Pigh. Hierarch. Eccles. lib. vi. c. 1.

² Albert. Pigh. Hierarch. Eccles. lib. vi. c. 4.

an *indefinite* infallibility, while the *precise* seat of that infallibility has never been revealed to us in Holy Scripture : it is clear, that, as that precise seat is *now* unknown, so it *never* can be certainly known without an additional specific revelation from heaven.

Infallibility alone can infallibly determine the precise seat of infallibility. But, until the precise seat of infallibility shall have been infallibly determined ; we cannot possibly enjoy, with any measure of assurance, the advantage of infallibility in an active or operative condition. Therefore no individual or assembly in this world, without a direct revelation from heaven, can infallibly define to us the exact place where infallibility is deposited.

Thus, for instance, the decision of any General Council, even though ratified by the Pope *ex cathedra*, cannot *itself* determine *itself* to be the seat of infallibility : because, ere that decision be accepted as infallible, we must *anteriorly* know infallibly, that a Council so circumstanced *is* infallible. Such knowledge, however, involving the very point to be established, clearly, even in the nature of things, cannot be communicated by a Council *so* circumstanced : for we must first know infallibly that such a Council is *itself* infallible, ere we can admit *its own* asseveration of *its own* infallibility to be any legitimate proof of its *actually possessing* such infallibility ; and the person, who from *its own* decision shall attempt to demonstrate *the in-*

fallibility even of a papally ratified General Council, will inevitably, to the sore discomposure of a logical head, find himself whirled round and round in the giddy revolution of the circulating syllogism. Let him manage his unpromising materials as best he may, such a reasoner can only, first demonstrate the infallibility of such a Council from its own decision respecting its own self, and then secondly demonstrate the infallibility of such a decision from the infallibility of such a Council.

I might add, that, ere we can assuredly benefit from the inerrancy of a true General Council, not only must the infallibility of such a Council be first infallibly established, but the precise nature of its requisite composition must likewise be infallibly defined and determined. Is a genuine infallible Council composed jointly of the Clergy and the Laity: or must its members be exclusively clerical? If its members must be exclusively clerical, are they variously to be both Bishops and Priests and Deacons: or are Deacons to be shut out, while Bishops and Priests are admitted: or are both Priests and Deacons alike to be shut out, while Bishops alone can be deemed legitimate canonical members? All these points must be infallibly determined by antecedent infallible authority, ere we could consistently receive as infallible the decisions of a General Council, even on the supposition, that a General Council itself had infallibly, though only indefinitely, been antecedently determined to be infallible.

But I press not any further the mere subordinate entanglements of this strangely perplexed question. It will be sufficient for me to ask, in all simplicity, the advocate of roman infallibility: *Where has it been infallibly determined, that a General Council is infallible, when its decisions shall have received the final stamp of the papal sanction? If such a determination has been made; how do you demonstrate the antecedent infallibility of the determiner? If such a determination has not been made; how know you, that a papally sanctioned General Council is infallible? And yet, if such a determination has not already been infallibly made; how can it hereafter be made without a special revelation from heaven?*

In short, by the very nature and necessity of things, no one can infallibly define the seat of infallibility, unless he shall have antecedently demonstrated *himself* to be infallible.

VI. But we have not even yet reached the end of the marvellous difficulties and glaring inconsistencies, with which the dogma of roman infallibility is so hopelessly encumbered.

Even if it had been clearly revealed that the Latin Church is incapable of error, and even if the precise organ of her infallibility had by scriptural authority been plainly defined: still, to derive any benefit from such infallibility, it would yet additionally be necessary, that each individual Christian should *himself* be rendered incapable of error.

The alleged uncertainty and indefiniteness of Scripture is a fruitful topic of argument with every zealous Romanist¹: and this very indefiniteness is urged in proof, that for the establishment of the faith infallibility is *necessary*, and THEREFORE that God *must* have conferred it upon his Church².

But those ingenious persons, who *thus* argue, seem never to have observed, that exactly the same difficulty, if difficulty it be, attends equally upon the decisions both of Popes and of Councils. Scripture, as the word of God, we *know* to be infallible: Popes and Councils have, by the Romanists, been *alleged* to be infallible. If, then, the *acknowledged* infallibility of Scripture may, in actual operation, prove unavailing; because a confessedly fallible reader may doubtless mistake its import: certainly the *alleged* infallibility of a Pope or a Council may, in actual operation, be *equally* unavailing; because a confessedly fallible reader or hearer of their infallible decisions may entirely misunderstand such decisions. In the abstract, let the decisions themselves be ever so free from error: still no person can be infallibly sure that he annexes to them their true meaning, unless he

¹ Hermannus ait: Scripturas valere quantum fabulas Æsopi, si destituantur Ecclesiæ autoritate. V. Baill. Tract. i. quæst. 17.

Sunt Scripturæ quidam velut nasus cereus, qui se horsum, illorsum, trahi, retrahi, fingique, facile permittit. Albert. Pigh. Hierarch. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 3.

² The reader will find a superb specimen of this *argumentum a priori*, in Discuss. Amic. lettr. iii. vol. i. p. 102—104.

himself be *also* infallible¹. The Romanist, in short, cannot object to infallible Scripture its liability to be misunderstood unless explained by an infallible interpreter, without having his objection forthwith retorted upon himself in regard to the alleged infallible decisions of a Pope or a Council. Every reader or hearer of such decisions must *himself* be infallible, ere he can be infallibly sure that he does not misunderstand them.

VII. With abundant complacency and with mighty parade of triumph, Romanists not unfrequently object to members of the Reformed Churches: that *The faith of those who reject the authority of the Latin Communion confessedly rests only upon moral evidence; while the better faith of the Romanist rests upon the sure foundation of absolute infallibility.*

¹ Thus the Council of Trent has infallibly decided, that DUE honour and veneration (DEBITUM honorem et venerationem) is to be paid to the images of Christ and the Virgin and the Saints: but two stout disputants might, nevertheless, *salva Synodi infallibilitate*, get up a very pretty and very edifying controversy as to the precise amount of the unerring DEBITUM. Concil. Trident. sess. xxv. p. 507. Dr. Trevern himself talks of certain exaggerating gentlemen within the pale of the Roman Church, for whose particular speculations it were unjust to make the Catholic Body in general responsible. Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 274, 275. Yet, on *his* principles, how will he prove, that the exaggeraters are wrong, and that the diminishers are right? Has the *amount* of the DEBITUM ever been infallibly determined? Effectually to confute the exaggeraters, Dr. Trevern must wait for an infallible exposition of the infallible decision of the infallible Council of Trent.

But what reasoning mind perceives not, at a glance, the childish inconsecutiveness of this objection ?

The Romanist *himself*, in the first instance, receives this very dogma of infallibility solely upon what *he* at least deems *sufficient moral evidence* : for, unless he himself be personally infallible, he cannot be infallibly certain that his Church is infallible. Hence, the faith of the Romanist *ultimately* rests upon the same professed basis of *moral evidence*, as the faith of the Protestant. In the two cases, the *moral evidence* may be sufficient, or it may be insufficient : but still, in each case, the *really* professed basis *is* moral evidence. The sole difference consists in the development of the original principle. Knowing that theological truths are incapable of mathematical demonstration, the Protestant receives them *simply* upon *moral evidence*. The Romanist, meanwhile, enjoys the high advantage of receiving *his* theological system upon the authority of alleged absolute infallibility : but then it is *simply* upon what he deems a sufficiency of *moral evidence*, that he receives the dogma of infallibility *itself*. He is perfectly certain, that the doctrine of Transubstantiation *must* be true ; *because* it has been infallibly defined by his infallible Church : and, as Bp. Walmsley tells us, *When a dogmatical point is to be determined, the Catholic Church speaks but once ; and her decree is irrevocable* ¹. But, if we press him to tell

¹ Gen. Hist. of the Church, chap. ix. p. 224.

US, WHY *he believes his Church to be infallible* : he will find it difficult to assign any other basis for his *primary* faith than *the mere simplicity of what he deems a sufficiency of moral evidence*.

Such being the case, he cannot esteem us unreasonable, if we request him to produce the *moral evidence*, upon which, in the *first* instance, his belief in ecclesiastical infallibility reposes. The very attempt, which has been severally made by Dr. Trevern and Mr. Berington, evinces a tacit admission of the reasonableness of this request. Their whole labour to establish the fundamental dogma of infallibility goes professedly on the mere principle of *moral evidence*. With what *emolument* they have toiled to substantiate their point, is quite another question : but, still, *simple moral evidence* is the *principle*, upon which they have laboured. Pope Gregory, indeed, has nakedly defined, that *The Roman Church never has erred and never will err* : but, as no rational being can implicitly receive this definition as infallible until he shall have *first* ascertained the infallibility of Pope Gregory *himself*, Mr. Berington and the Bishop of Strasbourg very properly attempt to prove from *moral evidence*, what Pope Gregory has barely asserted in *unflinching dogmatism*.

VIII. These very plain remarks may serve to shew the palpable vanity of those somewhat illogical theologians, who loudly extol the exceeding great benefit of a living infallible judge.

Bellarmino ascribes to the Pope that august

character¹. But, even if all his brethren *agreed* with him on this point; for, whatever may be the eloquently stigmatized variations of the Reformed Churches, I fear we must confess, that there are dissensions *within* Troy town as well as without it²: still the decisions of the living infallible judge would give no certainty to those who even most implicitly received them; unless they could *first* be infallibly certain, that they themselves infallibly understood the true purport of those infallible decisions. When a strenuous theological dispute had been thus unerringly settled, a new dispute between two genuine controvertialists would forthwith arise as to *the true meaning* of the unerring settlement. Nor will the difficulty be removed, save to the distance of a single step, by an infallible explanation of an infallible decision: for still, *ad infinitum*, unless the hearer or reader of the infallible explanation be *himself* infallible, he can no more be infallibly certain that he understands the infallible explanation, than he could be infallibly certain that he understood the original infallible decision which required and gave rise to the subsequent infallible explanation.

IX. On the whole, to the devout Romanist, Infallibility is the very basis of his system. But upon what does Infallibility *itself* repose?

The earth, as we are taught by some oriental

¹ Bellarm. de Rom. Pont. lib. iv. c. 3.

² Iliacos intra muros peccatur, et extra.

sages, rests upon a bull : and the bull stands firmly upon the unyielding back of a huge overgrown tortoise. Where the tortoise *himself* finds rest for the sole of his foot, they are not curious to inform us.

CHAPTER III.

SUPREMACY.

FROM the dogma of Infallibility, we may pass to that claim of a Dominant Supremacy over the whole Catholic Church, which, on behalf of the Roman See, is strenuously put forth by every zealous Latin.

According to those undeniable authorities, the Council of Trent and Pope Gregory VII and Pope Pius IV: *The Church of Rome is the Mother and Mistress of all Churches; Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, and all others, are bound to pledge and possess true obedience to the sovereign Roman Pontiff; the Pope is the Vicar of God upon earth, and possesses supreme authority delivered to him in the Universal Church; he alone can rightly bear the title of Universal Bishop; he alone can depose or reconcile Bishops; with those, who are excommunicated by him, we ought not so much as to remain in the same house; without his precept, no Council must be deemed a General Council; the person, who agrees not with the Roman Church, must not be esteemed a Catholic; ecclesiastical su-*

premacý is lodged with the Pope, because he is the successor of Peter the prince of the Apostles, and because he is the Vicar of Jesus Christ ¹.

¹ *Ecclesia Romana, quæ omnium Ecclesiarum mater est et magistra.* Concil. Trident. sess. vii. de Baptism. can. iii. p. 87.

Præcipit igitur sancta Synodus, Patriarchis, Primatibus, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, et omnibus aliis, ut—veram obedientiam summo Romano Pontifici spondeant et profiteantur. Concil. Trident. sess. xxv. p. 573.

Ipsius Dei in terris vicarii. Concil. Trident. sess. vi. p. 61.

Merito Pontifices Maximi, pro suprema potestate sibi in Ecclesia Universali tradita, causas aliquas criminum graviore suo potuerunt peculiari iudicio reservare. Concil. Trident. sess. xiv. p. 163.

Quod Romana Ecclesia a solo Domino sit fundata: quod solus Romanus Pontifex jure dicatur *Universalis*: quod ille solus possit deponere episcopos vel reconciliare: quod legatus ejus omnibus episcopis præsit in Concilio, etiam inferioris gradus, et adversus eos sententiam depositionis possit dare: quod absentes possit Papa deponere: quod cum excommunicatis ab illo, inter cætera, nec in eadem domo debemus manere: quod illi liceat Imperatores deponere: quod nulla Synodus absque præcepto ejus, debet *Generalis* vocari: quod sententia illius a nullo debeat retractari, et ipse omnium solus retractare possit: quod a nemine ipse judicari debeat: quod Romana Ecclesia nunquam erravit; nec in perpetuum, testante Scriptura, errabit: quod Romanus Pontifex, si canonicè fuerit ordinatus, meritis beati Petri indubitanter efficitur sanctus: quod illius præcepto et licentia, subjectis liceat accusare: quod, absque synodali conventu, possit episcopos deponere et reconciliare: quod Catholicus non habeatur, qui non concordat Romanæ Ecclesiæ: quod a fidelitate iniquorum subjectos potest absolvere. Dictat. Pap. Gregor. VII. in Epist. lib. ii. epist. 55. Labb. Concil. vol. x. p. 110, 111.

Sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Romanam Ecclesiam,

I. In support of this claim of Dominant Roman Supremacy by divine right, the doctors of the Latin Church adduce both the authority of Scripture and the testimony of certain Fathers of the three first centuries.

1. The authoritative passages, which they adduce from Holy Scripture, are the following.

(1.) *He saith unto them: But whom say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said: Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him: Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church: and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and, whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and, whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven*¹.

(2.) *And the Lord said: Simon, Simon, behold, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat: but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and, when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren*².

omnium Ecclesiarum matrem et magistram, agnosco: Romanoque Pontifici, beati Petri Apostolorum principis successori, ac Jesu Christi vicario, veram obedientiam spondeo ac juro. Prof. Fid. Trident. ex bull. Pap. Pii IV. Syllog. Confess. p. 5.

¹ Matt. xvi. 15—19.

² Luke xxii. 31, 32.

(3.) *So, when they had dined, Jesus saith to Simon Peter: Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these? He saith unto him: Yea, Lord; thou knowest, that I love thee. He saith unto him: Feed my lambs. He saith unto him, again the second time: Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? He saith unto him: Yea, Lord; thou knowest, that I love thee. He saith unto him: Feed my sheep. He saith unto him, the third time: Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? Peter was grieved, because he said unto him the third time: Lovest thou me? And he said unto him: Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest, that I love thee. Jesus saith unto him: Feed my sheep¹.*

2. Such are the scriptural authorities, which serve as a basis for the mighty superstructure of Dominant Roman Supremacy: the Fathers of the three first centuries, adduced by the latin doctors in evidence of the actual primeval exercise of this Supremacy, are Irenèus, Tertullian, Origen, and Cyprian.

(1.) Irenèus wrote during the latter half of the second century or about the year 175.

The tradition of the Apostles, manifested throughout the whole world, may be seen in the Church by all who wish to hear the truth: and we can reckon up, both those who by the Apostles were appointed Bishops in the Churches, and the successors of those

¹ John xxi. 15—17. Mr. Berington, with what object I know not, refers also to Mark i. 36. Luke ix. 32. Acts ii. 14. See Faith of Cathol. p. 156.

Bishops down even to our own times—But, since in such a volume as this it would occupy too much space to enumerate the successions of all the Churches: we shall confound all those persons, who from whatever bad motive collect differently from what they ought to collect, by simply indicating that apostolic tradition and that declared faith of the greatest and most ancient and universally known Church founded at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles Peter and Paul, which has come down even to us through the successions of her Bishops. For to this Church, on account of the more potent principality, it is necessary that every Church should resort; that is to say, those faithful individuals who are on every side of it: in which Church, by those who are on every side of it, the tradition, which is from the Apostles, has always been preserved. The blessed Apostles, then, founding and building up that Church, delivered to Linus the episcopate of administering it—But to him succeeded Anacletus: and, after him, in the third place from the Apostles, Clement received the episcopate—The successor of Clement was Euaristus: and, of Euaristus, Alexander. Next to him, the sixth from the Apostles, Sixtus was appointed: after him, Telesphorus:—next, Hyginus: then, Pius: and, then, Anicetus. But, when Soter had succeeded Anicetus, Eleutherius now holds the episcopate, in the twelfth place from the Apostles¹.

¹ Traditionem itaque Apostolorum, in toto mundo manifestatam, adest perspicere omnibus, qui vera velint audire: et

(2.) Tertullian flourished about the year 200.

*If thou thinkest heaven to be still closed, remember, that the Lord left here the keys of it to Peter and through him to the Church*¹.

Let heretics, then, produce the origins of their Churches : let them evolve the order of their Bishops, so running through successions from the beginning,

habemus annumerare eos, qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis, et successores eorum usque ad nos—Sed quoniam valde longum est, in hoc tali volumine, omnium Ecclesiarum enumerare successiones; maximæ et antiquissimæ et omnibus cognitæ, a gloriosissimis duobus Apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundatæ et constitutæ, Ecclesiæ, eam quam habet ab Apostolis traditionem et annunciatam hominibus fidem, per successiones Episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos, indicantes, confundimus omnes eos, qui, quoquo modo, vel per sui placentiam malam vel vanam gloriam, vel per cæcitatem et malam sententiam, præterquam oportet colligunt. Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam, propter potentiolem principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam; hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles: in qua semper, ab his qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis traditio. Fundantes, igitur, et instruentes, beati Apostoli, Ecclesiam, Lino Episcopatum administrandæ Ecclesiæ tradiderunt—Succedit autem ei Anacleus: post eum, tertio loco ab Apostolis, Episcopatum sortitur Clemens—Huic autem Clementi succedit Euaristus: et, Euaristo, Alexander. Ac deinceps, sextus ab Apostolis, constitutus est Sixtus: et, ab hoc, Telesphorus: ac, deinceps, Hyginus: post, Pius: post quem, Anicetus. Cum autem successisset Aniceto Soter: nunc, duodecimo loco, Episcopatum, ab Apostolis, habet Eleutherius. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 3. p. 170, 171.

¹ Nam, et si adhuc clausum putas cælum, memento claves ejus hic Dominum Petro et per eum Ecclesiæ reliquisse. Tertull. Scorpiac. adv. Gnost. Oper. p. 722.

that the first Bishop should have, for his author and predecessor, some one either of the Apostles themselves or of apostolical men their contemporaries. For, in this manner, the apostolical Churches carry down their enrolments. Thus the Church of the Smyrnæans relates itself to have Polycarp, there placed by John: thus the Church of the Romans adduces Clement, ordained by Peter: thus likewise other Churches exhibit those, whom, being appointed by the Apostles to the Episcopate, they have as the channels of the apostolic seed—Come now, thou who shalt wish better to exercise thy curiosity in the business of thy salvation; run through the apostolic Churches, in which the very chairs of the Apostles are still in their own places occupied, in which their identical authentic letters are recited sounding forth the voice and representing the face of each one. Is Achaia near to thee? Thou hast Corinth. If thou art not far from Macedonia: thou hast Philippi; thou hast Thessalonica. If thou canst go into Asia: thou hast Ephesus. Or, if thou art adjacent to Italy: thou hast Rome; whence also, to us Africans, there is an authority near at hand. Happy Church, to which the Apostles, along with their own blood, poured out their whole doctrine¹!

¹ Edant ergo origines Ecclesiarum suarum: evolvant ordinem Episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille Episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis, vel apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum Apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit autorem et antecessorem. Hoc enim modo Ecclesiæ Apostolicæ census suos deferunt: sicut Smyrnæorum Ecclesia

(3.) Origen wrote during the first half of the third century.

What, in a former passage¹, was granted to Peter alone, seems here² to be granted to all, who to all sinners shall have addressed three admonitions : in order that, unless they shall be listened to, they may, as a heathen and a publican, bind upon earth the person condemned, since such an one is bound also in heaven. But, as it was fit, even though a matter in common was spoken both of Peter and of those who should thrice admonish the brethren, that Peter should have something præëxcellent above those who should thrice admonish : that matter was first peculiarly ordained respecting Peter, namely, I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven ; before it was said, Whatsoever ye shall bind upon earth, and so forth. And truly, if we shall dili-

habens Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert ; sicut Romanorum Clementem a Petro ordinatum edit ; proinde utique et cæteræ exhibent, quos, ab Apostolis in Episcopatum constitutos, apostolici seminis traduces habeant—Age jam, qui voles curiositatem melius exercere in negotio salutis tuæ, percurre Ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis præsidentur, apud quas ipsæ authenticæ literæ eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem et repræsentantes faciem uniuscujusque. Proxima est tibi Achaia ? Habes Corinthum. Si non longe es a Macedonia : habes Philippos ; habes Thessalonicenses. Si potes in Asiam tendere : habes Ephesum. Si autem Italiæ adjaces : habes Romam ; unde nobis quoque autoritas præsto est. Felix Ecclesia, cui totam doctrinam Apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt. Tertull. præscript. adv. hæret. § 11, 14. Oper. p. 107, 108, 109.

¹ Matt. xvi. 19.

² Matt. xviii. 18.

*gently attend to the evangelical Scriptures, even in them we shall find, that the matters, which seem to be in common both to Peter and to those who thrice admonish the brethren, bear a more elevated sense when spoken to Peter than when spoken to the second*¹.

(4.) Cyprian flourished about the middle of the third century.

The Lord says to Peter : I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church ; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it—And, again, he says to the same person after his resurrection : Feed my sheep. Upon one he builds his Church. And, although to all the Apostles he gives an equal power and says ; As the Father sent me, I also send you, receive the Holy Ghost ; to whomsoever ye shall remit sins, they shall

¹ Πλὴν τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω μόνῳ τῷ Πέτρῳ δεδομένα ἔοικε δηλοῦσθαι δεδωκέναι πᾶσι τοῖς τὰς τρεῖς νοθεσίας προσαγαγούσι πᾶσι τοῖς ἡμαρτηκόσιν, ἢν, ἐὰν μὴ ἀκουσθῶσι, δίσωσιν ἐπὶ γῆς τὸν κριθέντα εἶναι ὡς ἔθνικὸν καὶ τελώνην, ὡς δεδεμένου τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· ἀλλ', ἐπεὶ ἔχρην, εἰ καὶ κοινόν τι ἐπὶ τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τῶν νοθετησάντων τρίς τοὺς ἀδελφούς λέλεκται, ἐξαιρέτων, ἔχειν τὸν Πέτρον παρὰ τοὺς τρίς νοθετήσαντας, ἰδίᾳ τοῦτο προτέτακται ἐπὶ τοῦ Πέτρου, τὸ, Δώσω σοι τὰς κλεῖς τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, τοῦ, Καὶ ὅσα ἐὰν δήσητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Καὶ τοίγε, εἰ ἐπιμελῶς προσέχομεν τοῖς εὐαγγελικοῖς γράμμασι, καὶ ἐν τούτοις εὐροιμεν ἂν καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ δοκοῦντα εἶναι κοινὰ πρὸς τὸν Πέτρον καὶ τοὺς τρίς νοθετήσαντας τοὺς ἀδελφούς, πολλὴν διαφορὰν καὶ ὑπεροχὴν ἐκ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Πέτρον εἰρημένων παρὰ τοὺς δευτέρους. Orig. Comment. in Matt. tom. xiii. Oper. vol. i. p. 336. Huet. Rothomag. 1668.

*be remitted to him ; and, to whomsoever ye shall retain them, they shall be retained : yet, that he might manifest unity, he by his authority disposed the origin of the same unity beginning from one. The other Apostles, indeed, were, what Peter was ; that is to say, they were endowed with an equal partnership both of honour and of power : but the beginning proceeds from unity, that the Church might be shewn to be one Church*¹.

For first to Peter, upon whom he built the Church and whence he instituted and shewed the origin of unity, the Lord gave the power, that, whatsoever he should have loosed upon earth, should be loosed in heaven. And, after his resurrection, he also speaks to the Apostles, saying : As the Father sent me, I likewise send you. When he had thus spoken, he breathed upon them, and said unto them : Whosoever sins ye shall remit, they shall be remitted unto

¹ Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum : *Ego tibi dico, inquit, quia tu es Petrus, et super istam petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam ; et portæ inferorum non vincent eam*—Et iterum eidem, post resurrectionem suam, dicit : *Pasce oves meas*. Super unum ædificat Ecclesiam suam. Et quamvis Apostolis omnibus parem potestatem tribuat et dicat ; *Sicut misit me Pater, et ego mitto vos, accipite Spiritum Sanctum ; si cui remiseritis peccata, remittentur illi ; si cui tenueritis, tenebuntur* : tamen, ut unitatem manifestaret, unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem sua auctoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique et cæteri Apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis : sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur, ut Ecclesia una monstretur. Cyprian. de Unit. Eccles. Oper. vol. i. p. 106—108.

*him ; and, whosoever ye shall retain, they shall be retained*¹.

*Nor did Peter, whom the Lord first chose and upon whom he built his Church, when afterward Paul disputed with him concerning circumcision, claim or assume any thing to himself insolently or arrogantly : so as to say, that he himself held the primacy, and that by posterity obedience ought to be paid to him rather than to Paul. On the contrary, he despised not Paul, because he had formerly been a persecutor of the Church : but he admitted the counsel of truth, and readily assented to that legitimate system which Paul vindicated*².

After these things, a false Bishop having been by the heretics appointed to themselves, they dare to set

¹ Nam Petro primum Dominus, super quem ædificavit Ecclesiam et unde unitatis originem instituit et ostendit, potestatem istam dedit, ut id solveretur in cœlis, quod ille solvisset in terris. Et, post resurrectionem, quoque ad Apostolos loquitur, dicens : *Sicut misit me Pater, et ego mitto vos.* Hoc cum dixisset, inspiravit, et ait illis : *Accipite Spiritum Sanctum : si cujus remiseritis peccata, remittentur illi ; si cujus tenueritis, tenebuntur.* Cyprian. Epist. Jubaian. lxxiii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 201.

² Nam nec Petrus, quem primum Dominus elegit et super quem ædificavit Ecclesiam suam, cum secum Paulus de circumcisione postmodum disceptaret, vindicavit sibi aliquid insolenter aut arroganter assumsit : ut diceret se primatum tenere ; et obtemperari, a novellis et posteris, sibi potius oportere. Nec despexit Paulum, quod Ecclesiæ prius persecutor fuisset : sed consilium veritatis admisit ; et rationi legitimæ, quam Paulus vindicabat, facile consensit. Cyprian. Epist. Quint. lxxi. Oper. vol. ii. p. 194, 195.

*sail: nor do they fear to bear letters, from schismatical and profane persons, to the chair of Peter and to the principal Church whence sacerdotal unity has arisen; for they consider not, that they are Romans (whose faith was praised by the Apostle himself,) to whom perfidy cannot have access*¹.

II. Such is the case, for the dominant Supremacy of the Roman Church and her Bishop over the whole Catholic Church of Christ, made out, by Mr. Berington, from Holy Scripture and from the Fathers of the three first centuries².

Now it is obvious, that, in order fully and distinctly to establish this point, two matters must be severally substantiated: the first is, that *Christ constituted Peter supreme head both of the Universal Church and likewise of all the other Apostles, thus erecting an absolute monarchy in the Society of which he was the founder*; the second is, that *All the paramount authority, originally vested in Peter, has from him rightfully descended to the Roman Church and Bishop*.

The substantiation of *each* of these two points

¹ Post ista adhuc insuper, pseudoepiscopo sibi ab hæreticis constituto, navigare audent; et ad Petri cathedram, atque ad Ecclesiam principalem, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est, a schismaticis et profanis literas ferre; nec cogitare eos esse Romanos (quorum fides, Apostolo prædicante, laudata est), ad quos perfidia habere non possit accessum. Cyprian. Epist. Cornel. lix. Oper. vol. ii. p. 135, 136.

² See Berington's Faith of Cathol. p. 157—159, 168, 169. The Bishop of Strasbourg produces no evidence on this point.

is plainly necessary. For, unless Peter *himself* had received from Christ a grant of universal dominant Supremacy; it is clear, that no such Supremacy could be inherited from him by the Bishop and Church of Rome: and, whatever exalted Supremacy might have been conferred upon Peter by Christ; it is equally clear, that no such Supremacy can be claimed by the Roman Church and Bishop, unless they can first demonstrate themselves to be the divinely constituted heirs of Peter.

Our business, therefore, will be to inquire, how far these two points are substantiated by the evidence which Mr. Berington has adduced: evidence, as we have seen, partly drawn from Scripture, and partly extracted from writers of the three first centuries.

III. Let us begin with examining the testimony, which he has produced from Scripture.

1. Here, the first question is: *Whether the texts, which have been alleged, demonstrate, that Christ appointed Peter to be the Monarch or Supreme Head of his Church.*

(1.) With respect to the second and third alleged texts from Scripture, they may safely, I think, be dismissed without much ceremony¹.

How a prayer on the part of Christ that *Peter's faith should not fail*, and how an admonition to the same Apostle that *he should strengthen his*

¹ Luke xxii. 31, 32. John xxi. 15—17.

brethren when he himself should have been converted, can afford any historical proof, that Christ appointed Peter to be the Monarch or Supreme Head of his Church, passes, I am free to say, my own comprehension.

As little can I divine, how the same remarkable grant is substantiated by a thrice repeated injunction from Christ that *Peter should feed his flock*. The triple command seems pretty evidently to allude to Peter's triple denial of his Lord. Hence we are very naturally told, that Peter was *grieved*, because Christ said to him, the third time, *Lovest thou me?* Yet, by some inconceivable process, the latin doctors transmute, what Peter *himself* with much mortification deemed an implied reproof, into a glorious grant of universal dominant Supremacy.

To adduce such texts, in proof of an asserted historical FACT, is so utterly childish, that the experiment can only serve to shew the grievous scantiness of scriptural testimony.

(2.) The sole text, therefore, which can be viewed as carrying with it even the least cogency, is the first¹. Let this first text, then, be brought to the test of sober examination.

If the present text conveys any grant of that Supremacy for which the Romanists contend, the grant can only be comprehended, in the supposed allegation on the part of Christ that *Peter is the*

¹ Matt. xvi. 15—19.

rock upon which he will build his Church, and in the special exclusive conveyance of what is called the binding and loosing power of the keys: for no where else, in the entire text, can we discover a vestige of any grant of universal dominant Supremacy.

Now, in two of the passages cited from Cyprian, I readily admit, that that Father considers Peter himself to be the rock upon which Christ promises to build his Church: but, to make out any satisfactory case of evidence, it ought to have been shewn by the latin advocate of papal preëminence, that *that interpretation was, without any variation, universally received, as the undoubtedly true one, from the very beginning.*

A modern theologian, Mr. Husenbeth to wit, has indeed roundly asserted: that, *by ALL the holy Fathers and doctors, by all the Councils, and by the most learned and pious men in the world in every age down to the Reformation, the clause in question has been UNIFORMLY understood as Catholics now understand it*¹. But the assertions of this declamatory writer, in more instances than one, are not remarkable for their scrupulous accuracy. The truth is: the early theologians are *by no means* agreed as to the import of this part of the text. Justin, the oldest Father who notices the place, contends, that the rock, upon which our

¹ Husenbeth's Defence of the Creed and Discipline of the Catholic Church. chap. iii. p. 69.

Lord promised to build his Church, is, not Peter individually, but Peter's confession of faith¹. Athanasius, Jerome, and Augustine, maintain, that the rock is Christ himself². Chrysostom, in one place, supposes Peter individually to have been the rock: but, in another place, he pronounces, with Justin Martyr, that the rock was Peter's confession; and explicitly condemns the idea, that Peter himself could have been intended³. Hilary also agrees with our oldest interpreter extant: for, like Justin, he states, that the Church was built upon the rock of the confession of Peter⁴. From the very beginning, then, different interpretations have been given of the clause: and the most ancient, and as such the most probably authentic, interpretation is NOT that, for which modern Romanists contend, and which Mr. Husenbeth undauntedly pronounces to have been UNIFORMLY adopted by *every* writer and in *every* age

¹ Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 255. Sylburg. 1593.

² Athan. Unum esse Christ. Orat. Oper. vol. i. p. 519, 520. Commel. 1600. Hieron. Comment. in Matt. xvi. 18. lib. iii. Oper. vol. vi. p. 33. Colon. 1616. August. Expos. in Evan. Johan. Tract. cxxiv. Oper. vol. ix. p. 206. Colon. 1616.

³ Chrysost. Homil. lxix. in Petr. Apost. et Eliam Proph. Oper. vol. i. p. 856. Serm. de Pentecost. Oper. vol. vi. p. 233. Commel. 1603.

⁴ Hilar. de Trin. lib. vi. Oper. p. 903. Paris, 1693. The same view of the text, so far as I can understand him, seems to have been taken by Cyril of Jerusalem. See Cyril. Catech. xi. p. 93. Paris. 1631.

of the Church down to the time of the Reformation¹.

Such being the simple matter of fact, a clause, the import of which has been differently defined

² As Mr. Husenbeth has not indulged us with any specific references, I shall not pretend to undertake the herculean task of verifying or of falsifying his formidably large assertion; that, *by ALL the Councils, as well as by ALL the holy Fathers and doctors, the celebrated text of the rock has been UNIFORMLY understood as Romanists now understand it*: for, truly, to peruse all the Acts of all the Councils (an undertaking, which, from his confident assertion as to their UNANIMITY of interpretation, we must conclude this painful divine to have happily accomplished), is a labour, from which the most determined perseverance might well shrink back in the hugeness of unutterable dismay.

Yet I may venture to ask Mr. Husenbeth: In which of the Canons of the four first General Councils, those of Nice and Constantinople and Ephesus and Chalcedon, is *the rock* dogmatically pronounced to be the Apostle Peter?

Nay, I will even request him to inform us: In which of the Canons of the last General Council, that of Trent, is such an interpretation of *the rock* authoritatively enunciated?

But Mr. Husenbeth's work, in which he professes to demolish the less rapid Mr. White, was designed for general circulation as a *popular* Tract: and he rightly judged, that, with the many, a bold front of hardy asseveration would produce a very imposing effect.

Who shall gainsay an exposition, again and again propounded, with rare and striking uniformity, not merely by a stray Council *here* or by a straggling Father *there*, but by *ALL the holy Fathers and doctors*, and by *ALL the Councils* to boot?

Certainly no prudent man, who is well assured of Mr. Husenbeth's stern integrity and unbending accuracy.

by different theologians even from the days of Justin Martyr who became a convert to Christianity little more than thirty years after the death of St. John, is no specially secure foundation for a grant of universal dominant Supremacy to the Apostle Peter. Had the early theologians, from the beginning, INVARIABLY or (as Mr. Husenbeth speaks) UNIFORMLY, understood the clause as the modern Romanists would have us understand it; I admit, that a tolerably strong case would have been made out for at least a *personal* Supremacy: but gravely to build a most important historical FACT upon a palpably uncertain interpretation is surely the very apex of unhesitating fatuity.

The other clause in the text, which confers upon Peter the power of binding and of loosing, is, I fear, not more satisfactory than that which we have last considered.

To elicit any thing from this clause in favour of Peter's universal dominant Supremacy, it ought to have been demonstrated, that the power was given to Peter EXCLUSIVELY. But exactly the same power of binding and of loosing is subsequently given to *all* the Apostles: nor is the grant attended with the slightest intimation, either that the power was given to Peter in some special though undefined manner above his brethren, or that his brethren were to receive it only *ultimately* from Christ inasmuch as it was *directly* conveyed to them solely through the authoritative medium of their divinely constituted monarch the

Archapostle St. Peter ¹. Origen, indeed, contends for something peculiar in the grant to Peter above all other persons : but Origen is not borne out by the inspired narrative. When Jesus finally, after his resurrection, communicated the power, whatever the *precise* nature of that power might be : he communicated it, both *indifferently* to all the Apostles, and *immediately* from himself ². Hence, though Cyprian maintains that unity commences from Peter, building that notion upon his own arbitrary and gratuitous interpretation of *the rock*, he fully admits, that the other Apostles were what Peter was ; he fully admits, that they were endowed with an *equal* partnership both of honour and of power ³ : and, in truth, the whole history of Paul and his fellow Apostles, as given in the inspired writings, clearly shews their perfect mutual independence ; while it is quite silent as to any fancied absolute Monarchy of Peter ⁴.

2. The second question is : *Whether the texts, which have been adduced, afford any testimony, that the Bishops of Rome are divinely constituted heirs of the prerogatives of Peter, whatever we may fancy those prerogatives to have been.*

(1.) Now I may safely appeal even to the most careless enquirer, whether the adduced texts con-

¹ Matt. xviii. 18. John xx. 21—23.

² John xx. 21—23.

³ See the passage above, book i. chap. 3. § I. 2. (4.)

⁴ See more especially for Paul's distinctly specified *rationale* of the Apostleship, Galat. i. 11—22. ii. 1—19.

tain so much as a single syllable respecting the descent of Peter's prerogatives to *any* successor, still less to the specific line of Roman Bishops.

Let us, though without any warrant from Scripture, elevate the Apostle's Supremacy to as high a pitch of absolute Monarchy in the Church as the most zealous Papalist could wish : still, after all the prodigality of gratuitous concession, not a hint is given in our texts, either that the Bishop of Rome or any other Bishop should be his ecclesiastical successor.

(2.) Nor is this all. As the texts, adduced by Mr. Berington, are wholly silent on that vital matter : so, in no other places, do we find Scripture a whit more communicative.

Were it an essential point of faith, without which, as we are assured in the Tridentine Confession, no person can be saved, to believe, that *the Roman Pontiff is successor to St. Peter the Prince of the Apostles*¹ : surely that point would have been distinctly and unequivocally specified in Holy Writ, either prophetically by Christ himself, or dogmatically by some one of his inspired disciples. But not a word does Scripture say on

¹ Sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Romanam Ecclesiam, omnium Ecclesiarum matrem et magistram, agnosco : Romanoque Pontifici, beati Petri Apostolorum Principis successoris ac Jesu Christi Vicario, veram obedientiam spondeo ac juro—Hanc veram Catholicam fidem, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest, retinere et confiteri,—ego idem spondeo, voveo, ac juro. Prof. Fid. Trident. in Syllog. Confess. p. 5.

the subject. If introduced *any* where, we might naturally expect to find it introduced, either toward the close of the Acts where Paul is conducted to Rome, or in that same great Apostle's canonical Letter to the Romans, or in one of the two Epistles of Peter himself the alleged supreme Monarch of the entire Catholic Church and the first of the long line of the divinely appointed succeeding Monarchs. But the very lack of citation, on the part of our Latin theologians, is itself a virtual confession, that the descent of Peter's Supremacy to the Bishops of Rome is a matter quite incapable of proof from the testimony of Scripture¹.

IV. We may now proceed to examine the testimony, which has been produced from the ecclesiastical writers of the three first centuries.

1. Here, again as before, the first question will be: *Whether those writers afford any demonstration, that Christ appointed Peter to be the supreme dominant Head of his Church.*

When, through ambiguity of language, no direct proof of a matter can be extracted from Scrip-

¹ On this perfectly intelligible principle, several Protestants have admitted, that Peter enjoyed certain privileges above the other Apostles; while yet they deny, that these privileges have descended from him to the Roman Bishops. Some *strictly personal* privileges of the Apostle, whatever may be their precise nature and amount, they think themselves able to discover in Scripture: but, as to any descent of these privileges from Peter to the Bishop of Rome, they admit it not; for the very satisfactory reason, that Scripture is altogether silent respecting any such descent.

ture *simply*: I perceive not, how the early ecclesiastical writers can supply the deficiency, except by UNANIMOUSLY fixing a *definite* interpretation upon a text, which in itself or abstractedly is *indefinite*.

The present, if I mistake not, is exactly a case in point.

Irenæus, the most ancient of the writers adduced by Mr. Berington, is entirely silent respecting the dominant Supremacy of Peter: for the whole passage, which has been cited from him, treats solely of the apostolic descent of all the then existing branches of the Catholic Church; that of the Roman Church, in particular, from its two co-founders Peter and Paul, being given at large by way of exemplification¹. The other three, Tertullian and Origen and Cyprian, doubtless intimate, that a Supremacy of some description or another was granted to Peter². Our business, therefore, will be, to estimate the value and authority of their intimation.

Now their intimation rests professedly upon the text, in which Christ promises that *he will build his Church upon a rock*: and Tertullian, like Cyprian, supposes *the rock* in question to be Peter³.

¹ See above, book i. chap. 3. § 1. 2. (1.)

² See above, book i. chap. 3. § 1. 2. (2.) (3.) (4.)

³ Tertull. de pudic. Oper. p. 767, 768. For reasons which in their proper place will appear, I venture to say, that no Romanist will ever cite *this* passage. Accordingly, Mr. Berington and the Bishop of Strasbourg very carefully *suppress* it. See below, book ii. chap. 3. § II. 2. (2.)

But this interpretation, as we have seen, is not the *uniform* and *unvarying* interpretation of the Church from the very beginning : it is merely the *private* interpretation of Cyprian and Tertullian. For, even to say nothing of Justin and Athanasius and Jerome and Augustine and Chrysostom and Hilary, who give an entirely different exposition of *the rock* : Origen himself, with what consistency is no part of my concern, flatly denies, in another part of the same Commentary whence Mr. Berington has taken his citation, that the whole Church of God was built upon Peter *alone*, and that the keys of the kingdom of heaven were given *exclusively* to that Apostle¹. Hence it is clear, that the passage, brought forward by Mr.

¹ Orig. Comment. in Matt. tom. xii. Oper. vol. i. p. 275. The whole passage is too long to cite : but the following extracts will suffice.

Πέτρα γὰρ πᾶς ὁ Χριστοῦ μαθητῆς—Εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἕνα ἐκείνον Πέτρον νομίζεις ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκοδομεῖσθαι τὴν πᾶσαν Ἐκκλησίαν μόνον, τί ἂν φήσεις περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ τῆς βροντῆς υἱοῦ ἢ ἐκάστου τῶν ἀποστόλων; Ἄλλως τε ἄρα τολμήσωμεν λέγειν, ὅτι Πέτρον μὲν ἰδίως πύλαι ἄδου οὐ κατισχύουσιν, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν τελείων κατισχύουσιν; Οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν τὸ προειρημένον, τό· Πύλαι ἄδου οὐ κατισχύουσιν αὐτῆς· καὶ τό· Ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν; Ἄρα δὲ τῷ Πέτρῳ μόνῳ δίδονται ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου αἱ κλεῖδες τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἕτερος τῶν μακαρίων αὐτὰς λήψεται; κ. τ. λ.

Yet, with this passage (as it were) under his very eyes, Mr. Berington gravely cites Origen as a witness for the dominant and exclusive Primacy of St. Peter and his successors the Bishops of Rome!

Berington, can afford no proof whatever of the dominant Supremacy of Peter. Had the Catholic Church, from the very first, taught us, *without variation*, that the true sense of the text before us is a grant to Peter of a dominant Supremacy over all Christians : the import of an abstractedly ambiguous text would *then* have been definitely fixed ; nor do I see, how we could have rationally disallowed such powerful harmonious testimony. But, in reality, no *authoritative* interpretation has come down to us : and the weight of evidence is decidedly *against* the gloss of Cyprian and Tertulian ; for, to omit other witnesses, Justin, the most ancient of them all, pronounces *the rock* to be, not Peter himself, but Peter's confession of faith¹.

¹ I subjoin the interpretation of Justin, as being the oldest extant, and therefore as carrying with it the greatest weight of authority.

Καὶ γὰρ Υἱὸν Θεοῦ Χριστὸν, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀποκάλυψιν, ἐπιγνόντα αὐτὸν, ἕνα τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, Σίμωνα πρότερον καλούμενον, ἐπωνόμασε Πέτρον. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 255.

Upon one of his disciples, who was previously called Simon, Christ bestowed the surname of Peter : inasmuch as, through the revelation of his Father, he acknowledged him to be the Christ the Son of God.

According to Justin, the name *Peter* bore a direct reference to the *confession* of Simon, not to his *official character* in the Church. Therefore, plainly, he must have deemed *the rock*, whence Simon derived his imposed name of *Peter*, not to be *Simon himself*, but *Simon's heaven-inspired confession of faith*. The Apostle, after a mode perfectly familiar to the Hebrews in all ages, was called *the rock* in commemoration of his having

Nothing, therefore, can be more idle, than an attempt to demonstrate the dominant Supremacy of Peter from the mere private unauthoritative gloss of Cyprian and Tertullian or from the self-inconsistent language of Origen.

2. Our second question, still in the order already observed, is : *Whether the ecclesiastical writers of the three first centuries afford any proof, that the Bishops of Rome have legitimately inherited the alleged monarchical prerogatives of Peter.*

(1.) I might here fairly urge, that no evidence of the early ecclesiastical writers, however distinct, can establish, as a necessary article of faith, what has never been revealed in Scripture ; for, although such evidence may establish the true interpretation of an already existing text, it cannot make that a matter of divine revelation which has never been divinely revealed. But so strong is my cause, that, with perfect safety, I may, for the sake of argument, even waive this plea.

confessed the rock upon which Christ has promised to build his Church.

Such was the view taken by Justin only thirty-seven years after the death of St. John : and, since it stands self-approved, both by its accordance with the context, and by its agreement with the national habits of the Jews ; since, moreover, it has been directly adopted by Chrysostom and Hilary, and virtually admitted by Athanasius and Jerome and Augustine (for the difference is merely verbal, whether by *the rock* we understand *Christ himself* or *Peter's confession of Christ's mysteriously divine Sonship*) : we have at least a strong presumption, that the view, so early taken by Justin, is accurate.

The Latins themselves seem to be fully aware, that the only intelligible mode, in which the Bishop of Rome can be heir to St. Peter, is through the medium of episcopal succession.

That the Roman Pontiffs govern a diocesan Church originally *founded* by Peter and Paul conjointly, is attested by Irenæus. But this circumstance, be it ever so well established, is plainly insufficient to substantiate the point of *heirship*. Peter and Paul founded *many* Churches, as well as the Church of Rome; and they appointed in *them* also Bishops, as well as in the Roman Church: but, in no one case, neither in that of the Roman Church nor of any other Church apostolically founded, does *this* circumstance constitute any line of Bishops the *heirs* or *episcopal successors* of the apostolical founders. To bring out such a result, it must be proved, that any given Apostle was not only *the founder of a Church*, but likewise *its first canonical diocesan Bishop*. Hence, obviously, an inquiry will arise: *Whether we possess any primitive historical testimony to the necessary fact; that Peter was, not only the CO-FOUNDER, but likewise HIMSELF the first canonical diocesan BISHOP, of Rome*. For, unless *this* fact can be established, the Roman Bishops can make out no better case of *heirship* to St. Peter, than the Bishops of Antioch or of any *other* Church said to have been founded by that Apostle.

(2.) Now *not one* of the passages, adduced by Mr. Berington from Irenæus and Tertullian and

Origen and Cyprian, does, in the least degree, tend to establish this vital circumstance.

The language of Irenèus, so far from establishing the circumstance, is palpably inconsistent with it. He tells us, that, while the two Apostles Peter and Paul (not Peter *singly*) were engaged in founding and organising the Roman Church, they jointly delivered the Episcopate of it to Linus. Such language is very remarkable. It imports, *not* that Peter and Paul first completely founded and organised the Roman Church, that Peter then for a season acted personally as the earliest diocesan Bishop of Rome, and that afterward the two Apostles committed to Linus the Episcopate : but it imports, that, *while they were in the very course of founding and organising the Roman Church*, they jointly appointed Linus to be its first Bishop, in order that he might take the superintendance of it as soon as they should have apostolically completed the necessary antecedent arrangements¹.

This is the testimony of our oldest witness : and his subsequent phraseology, while it perfectly agrees with that testimony, is no less fatal to the theory, that the first diocesan Bishop of Rome was the Apostle Peter himself. Irenèus tells us, that Clement obtained the Episcopate in the third

¹ The old latin translation of Irenèus, the very barbarism of which affords a valuable proof of its close correspondence with the lost greek original, reads : *Fundantes et instruentes Ecclesiam* ; not, *Fundata et instructa Ecclesia*.

place, Sixtus in the sixth place, and Eleutherius in the twelfth place, from the Apostles. Thus he reckons, we see, not from Peter *singly* as he must have done had Peter been the first diocesan Bishop, but from the two Apostles *jointly* in their equal capacity of co-founders. Consequently, if Clement were the third Bishop from the two co-founders, Linus must, in his calculation, have been the first Bishop.

Such being the case, the evidence of Irenèus, instead of *establishing* the diocesan Roman Episcopate of Peter, goes directly to prove, that Peter, although a co-founder of the Roman Church, *never* acted personally as the first diocesan Bishop of that Church.

(3.) This account of the evidence of Irenèus is directly confirmed by the ancient author of the Apostolical Constitutions.

He gives us a list of the primitive apostolically ordained Bishops : and, in the course of it, he distinctly states, even in so many words, that Linus was by Paul consecrated the *first* Bishop of the Roman Church ; while the *second* Bishop of that see, whom (omitting the Anacletus mentioned by Irenèus) he makes to be Clement, was consecrated by Peter¹.

Nor does he leave any room for setting up even the slightest pretence of ambiguity. All such

¹ Τῆς δὲ Ῥωμαίων Ἐκκλησίας, Λίνος μὲν ὁ Κλαυδίας πρῶτος ὑπὸ Παύλου, Κλήμης δὲ μετὰ τὸν Λίνου θάνατον ὑπ' ἑμοῦ Πέτρου δεύτερος, κεχειροτόνηται. Constit. Apost. lib. vii. c. 46.

pretence, should it be started either against himself or against Irenæus, is effectually cut off by his uniformly systematic plan of enumeration¹. James, the brother of the Lord, after a manner totally dissimilar to the practice of all the other Apostles, is declared by the voice of Antiquity, to have been personally *himself* the *first* diocesan Bishop of Jerusalem². Hence, with strict consistency, the author of the Constitutions speaks of his immediate successor Symeon, as being the *second* Bishop of that Church³. But Antiquity knew nothing of Peter being the *first* diocesan Bishop of Rome. Hence, with equal consistency, the same author teaches us, that the *first* Bishop of the Roman Church was Linus: and, as if completely to set aside the fabulous Episcopate of Peter, he adds, that Linus was consecrated Bishop by Paul. According to *his* reckoning, in short,

¹ I may remark, however, that a plea of *ambiguity* cannot be set up by the Romish Party, in regard either to Irenæus or to the author of the Apostolical Constitutions, without effectually depriving their evidence of all value whensoever it is adduced *in favour* of the papal claim of Dominant Supremacy. For, if by any Latin it should be said, that the language of these two ancient writers, as to the individual who was the *first* diocesan Bishop of Rome, is ambiguous: *then*, surely, nothing can be more idle, than to advance a claim upon *confessedly ambiguous* phraseology.

² Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 1. lib. iv. c. 5. Epiph. cont. hæc. lib. lxvi.

³ Ἱεροσολύμων μὲν Ἰάκωβος, ὁ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀδελφός· οὗ τελευτήσαντος, δεύτερος Συμεὼν ὁ τοῦ Κλεόπα· μεθ' ὃν τρίτος Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου. Constit. Apost. lib. vii. c. 46.

Linus was the *first* diocesan Bishop of Rome, just as the Apostle James was the *first* diocesan Bishop of Jerusalem. The hebrew Bishops of Jerusalem, therefore, might plausibly have claimed to be heirs of all the prerogatives of James the *first* diocesan Bishop: but the gentile Bishops of Rome can set up no such claim in regard to Peter, because Peter was *never* the diocesan Bishop of the Roman Church ¹.

(4.) It may be asked: What, then, are we to understand by *the more potent principality*, on account of which, in the language of Irenæus, every Church should resort to the Church of Rome?

Now, whatever we are to understand by that expression, it is quite clear, that we cannot understand by it any dominant Supremacy derived to the Roman Pontiffs from the alleged *first* Roman Bishop Peter: because Peter himself *never* per-

¹ The Council of Trent, without a shadow of authority or rather in direct contradiction to all history, strangely defines the Church of Rome to be *the Mother of all Churches*. Sess. vii. de Baptism. can. iii. p. 87. It were well, if the Tridentine Fathers had explained to us, how the Roman Church can be the Mother of those more ancient Churches which existed before itself was founded. Another Ecumenical Council, that of Constantinople, which at least in *this* respect bids more fair to be infallible than its successor at Trent, rightly and sensibly defines the undoubtedly oldest Church of Jerusalem to be *the Mother of all Churches*. Τῆς δὲ γε μητρὸς ἀπασῶν τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. Epist. Synod. Concil. Constantin. ad Damas. apud Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. cap. 9. To the same purpose speaks Jerome. Sed et in Hierusalem primum fundata Ecclesia totius orbis Ecclesias seminavit. Hieron. Comment. in Esai. ii. 3. Oper. vol. iv. p. 7.

sonally occupied the diocesan Roman Episcopate. But I trust, that we shall find no great difficulty in giving a quite satisfactory account of the phraseology employed by Irenèus.

To serve the purpose of his party with the greater effectiveness, Mr. Berington has thought fit to express the phrase of Irenèus by the english words *Its supreme headship*; thus compelling the venerable Father, in his anglican masquerading habit, to ascribe to the Roman Church an universal dominant Supremacy: and, in order that the context may fitly correspond with this somewhat ample rendering, he teaches that context to say, that *every other Church, that is, the faithful of all countries, must have recourse to the Roman Church*¹.

But good Irenèus himself gives us no such remarkable information, as that which has been extracted from him by Mr. Berington. He simply speaks, in manner following.

To this Church, on account of the more potent principality, it is necessary, that every Church should resort: that is to say, those faithful individuals,

¹ The latin version of Irenèus is: Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam, propter potentiozem principatitatem, necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam; hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles: in qua semper, ab his qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis traditio.

Mr. Berington's very free translation runs: *For to this Church, on account of its superior headship, every other must have recourse, that is, the faithful of all countries; in which Church has been preserved the doctrine delivered by the Apostles.*

who are on every side of it. In which Church, by those who are on every side of it, the tradition, which is from the Apostles, has always been preserved.

The drift of the passage is abundantly evident : particularly, when it is explained by the parallel passage in Tertullian, which I have cited at full length ; though, as I am sorry to remark, Mr. Berington, in *his* garbled citation of it, has carefully suppressed all notion of its tendency¹.

In contentions with heretics, the subject alike discussed by Irenèus and Tertullian, disputes might arise, as to the precise definition of particular doctrines or as to the strict import of particular passages in Scripture : for the heretics of the day were very apt, either to start new doctrines, or to pervert old doctrines, or to distort various places of Holy Writ from their true sense in order that God's word might thus be constrained to favour their own idle speculations.

Now, in this emergency, the rational advice, given by Irenèus and Tertullian, is : that application should be made to the apostolical or mother Church of the province, where the dispute occurred ; because *there*, on account of the more potent principality with reference to the rural suffragan Churches situated round about each chief apostolically-founded Church, the true doctrine of the apostolic founder, whose identical

¹ See above, book i. chap. 3. § I. 1. (2.) and Berington's Faith of Cathol. p. 169.

authentic letters were there preserved, sounding forth in a manner his very voice, and representing in a manner his very face, might be learned with the greatest prospect of absolute moral certainty.

Thus, if the dispute occurred in Achaia; recourse might be had to the apostolical Mother-Church of Corinth: if, in Macedonia; to Philippi or Thessalonica: if, in proconsular Asia; to Ephesus: if, in Italy or in Africa; to Rome.

All these several apostolically-founded Mother-Churches, in relation to their dependent ecclesiastical daughters which were seated around them, possessed a more potent principality; being, what was technically denominated, *Metropolitan Churches*: and to *them*, according both to primitive discipline and to right reason, every Church, that is (as Irenèus carefully explains himself, when speaking of the Metropolitan Province of Rome in particular) *every Church of faithful individuals who were on all sides of an apostolically-founded Mother-Church*, was bound to resort; because, as he adds, in such a Mother-Church as that of Rome, the apostolic tradition of sound doctrine had always been carefully preserved.

Irenèus and Tertullian, in short, are alike speaking, not of any dominant universal Supremacy possessed by the Roman Church in particular, but simply of the best mode of resolving disputes with heretics: and this, when we recollect the very early times in which they flourished, they most rationally determine to be by an application to that

particular Apostolic See or Chair, which might happen to be nearest to the place of controversy. Accordingly, Irenæus, speaking from the valuable knowledge which he possessed through his successive residence in Asia and in Gaul, states, on his own personal intimacy, that the same doctrines might be learned at Ephesus by professed traduction from John, as those which might be learned at Rome by similarly professed traduction from Paul and from Peter. Thus, in disputes with innovating heretics, whether recourse was had to Rome or to Ephesus, the answer, in either case, would be precisely the same¹. *This, says the excellent Bishop of Lyons, himself the disciple of Polycarp the scholar of St. John : This is a most full demonstration, that there is one and the same vivifying faith, which, in the Church, has been preserved and handed down in truth, from the Apostles even to the present time—For the Church at Ephesus, founded indeed originally by Paul, but having John permanently residing among its members even so late as the days of Trajan, is a true witness of that which was delivered by the Apostles².*

(5.) The language of Tertullian will serve also

¹ See Iren. adv. hæc. lib. iii. c. 3.

² Et est plenissima hæc ostensio, unam et eandem vivificatricem fidem esse, quæ in Ecclesia ab Apostolis usque nunc sit conservata et tradita in veritate.—Sed et quæ est Ephesi Ecclesia a Paulo quidem fundata, Ioanne autem permanente apud eos usque ad Trajani tempora, testis est verus Apostolorum traditionis. Iren. adv. hæc. lib. iii. c. 3. p. 171, 172.

to explain that of Cyprian, when he speaks of *the chair of Peter*.

Some latin theologians appear, from this phrase, to have fondly concluded, that Cyprian is a witness for the diocesan Roman Episcopate of Peter. But the phrase imports nothing of the sort. *Every* apostolically-founded Church was deemed the chair or seat or (in our modern derivative English) see of the particular Apostle who founded it. Accordingly, as we have noted, the phrase is, by Tertullian, thus applied to *all* the several Churches of Smyrna, Rome, Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, and Ephesus. In each of them *alike* is the chair of an Apostle : in Rome, certainly, *among the rest* ; but not in Rome *more* than in any other apostolically-founded Church. Thus, in Rome, as Cyprian speaks, was the chair of Peter ; or, as Irenèus (according to *his* testimony) would express himself, in Rome was the chair of Peter and Paul conjointly : and thus, in Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, and Ephesus, respectively, was to be found the chair of Paul. But, in none of these cases, did the phrase imply, that the apostolic *founder* of any one of those Churches was also its first diocesan *Bishop*. The expression uniformly relates to the Apostle in question, not as a diocesan *Bishop*, but as the original *founder*.

I need scarcely to add, that Cyprian styles the Church of Rome *the principal Church*, precisely as Irenèus ascribes to it *the more potent principality*. As a Church of apostolic foundation, it was the

principal Church in reference to Italy and Africa : it contained, as Tertullian speaks, the nearest apostolic chair, to which, in disputes with heretics, Italy and Africa might, for the settlement of a doctrinal controversy by an appeal to the then indisputable fact of unbroken and well authenticated apostolic interpretation, have quick and ready and easy recourse ¹.

¹ Augustine unites *both* the expressions in a single sentence.

In Romana Ecclesia semper *apostolicæ cathedræ* viguit *principatus*. August. Epist. 162.

Here, the *apostolical chair* is the *chair of Peter*, because Peter was the reputed co-founder of the Roman Church : and the *principality* is, as Irenæus speaks, the *more potent principality*, which every apostolic Church enjoyed with reference to her dependent daughters seated immediately round about her.

Latterly, the Roman Church has thought good to *appropriate* to herself the style and title of *the Apostolic See* : but the language of earlier and better ages readily detects this innovating usurpation. The diocesan Church of Rome is no more *especially* the Apostolic See, than *any other* diocesan Church founded by an Apostle : and the plurality of the *Cathedræ Apostolorum* of Tertullian had not been forgotten in the days of Augustine.

Christiana Societas, per Sedes Apostolorum et successiones Episcoporum, certa per orbem propagatione diffunditur. August. Epist. 42.

I somewhat marvel, that Mr. Berington has not adduced the apparently splendid titles of *Pontifex Maximus* and *Episcopus Episcoporum*, which Tertullian bestows upon the Roman Bishop, as a clear proof of the early acknowledged universal Supremacy of that Prelate. Tertull. de pudic. Oper. p. 742. Probably he was aware, that, in the first ages, *Pontifex Maximus* or *Summus Pontifex* or *Summus Sacerdos* or *Princeps Sacerdotum* were undistinguishing titles of *all* members of the

(6.) A modern divine of the Latin Church, Mr. Husenbeth, has indeed, with his wonted idle humour of declamatory exaggeration, broadly asserted: that ALL *ecclesiastical writers*, WITHOUT ONE EXCEPTION, *during the space of fifteen entire centuries*, have, uniformly and unanimously, attested the fact of the diocesan Roman Episcopate of St. Peter¹.

What these ecclesiastical writers may have done *during the latter part* of those fifteen centuries, is a matter of the least possible consequence in regard to historical testimony: Mr. Husenbeth, however, declares, that they are equally explicit *during the three first centuries* also. Papias, Ignatius, Irenæus, Dionysius of Corinth, Caius, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, and Cyprian, all, no doubt, flourished *in the course of the three earliest ages*: and they ALL, with one voice, at least so says Mr. Husenbeth, distinctly and explicitly teach us, that Peter was the first diocesan Bishop of Rome².

episcopal order: while *Episcopus Episcoporum* was the accurate and fitting style of *every* Metropolitan or *every* Bishop of a principal Apostolic Church surrounded by smaller dependent suffragan Churches. Under this willing belief, I cheerfully give Mr. Berington credit for having acted like an honest man; a far more respectable title, than that of a plausible controversialist.

¹ Husenbeth's Def. of the Creed and Discip. of the Cath. Church. chap. ii. p. 42.

² Mr. White had stated: that *the belief, that St. Peter had been Bishop of Rome, was an idle and ungrounded report.*

I allow this author credit for *having* given moderately specific references to his formidable list of primitive vouchers: but I find no small difficulty in accounting for the very singular fact, that such references should ever, even in the way of common prudence, *have been* given¹. NOT ONE of the writers, adduced and referred to by Mr. Husenbeth as his decisive witnesses of the three first

Whereupon Mr. Husenbeth remarks: *It is deplorable to see a licentiate in divinity attempt thus to impose upon such humble readers as have no means of examining history, by such worn-out fallacies and vile fabrications as these.* Def. of the Creed. chap. ii. p. 41, 42.

In this strain of virulent invective, as if indecent abuse and hardy asseveration might supply the place of argument and testimony, Mr. Husenbeth specially delights to expatiate.

The question is: whether Mr. White who *denied* the Roman Episcopate of Peter, or Mr. Husenbeth who has *asserted* it on the professed constant testimony of all ecclesiastical writers without one exception for fifteen centuries, has the more undauntedly attempted to *impose upon such humble readers as have no means of examining history.*

¹ Mr. Husenbeth's references to his witnesses of the three first centuries are given in manner following.

Papias apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 14. Ignat. Epist. ad Rom. Dionysius of Corinth apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 24. Caius and Clement of Alexandria apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 14, 15. Orig. lib. iii. in Genesim. Tertull. de præscript. c. 32. Cyprian. epist. 55. ad Cornel. Pap.

As a bait for hard readers, he adds, without giving *any* reference, in the capacity of witnesses for the fourth and fifth centuries, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Eusebius, Lactantius, Theodoret, Sulpicius Severus, Cyril of Jerusalem, Chrysostom, and Athanasius.

centuries, says *a single syllable* respecting the diocesan Roman Episcopate of Peter¹. ALL are *pro-*

¹ When I first pointed out this discreditable attempt to impose upon the unsuspecting confidence of the English Laity, Mr. Husenbeth, in reply, made a brief and somewhat dry acknowledgment: that the places, referred to by him as specifically attesting the personal Roman Episcopate of Peter, do not ALL say, *totidem verbis*, that Peter was Bishop of Rome. Pamph. p. 54.

What means he by this word ALL? Would he insinuate, that *some* do, and *some* do not, assert *Peter's Roman Episcopate*? NOT ONE of them says *a single word* about it: NOT ONE of them throws out even so much as a *hint*.

By way of salvo, however, he now assures us: that, *From their concurrent testimonies*, WITHOUT ONE BEING FOUND TO DENY THE SAME, *it was clear; that St. Peter was at Rome, WAS BISHOP OF ROME, and was martyred at Rome.* Pamph. p. 55.

Certainly, they vouch for the *two* facts: that *Peter was at Rome*; and that *Peter was martyred at Rome*. But WHERE, either singly or collectively, do they vouch for the additional *third* fact: that PETER WAS BISHOP OF ROME; a fact, *without a shadow of evidence* ingeniously wedged by Mr. Husenbeth between the other two?

NOT ONE CAN BE FOUND TO DENY IT, responds this prince of logicians.

True: and, on the same most satisfactory principle, I will undertake to prove, that Alexander the Great was the first king of Rome. NOT ONE ANCIENT HISTORIAN CAN BE FOUND TO DENY IT.

Before Mr. Husenbeth next mythologises on *the personal Roman Episcopate of Peter*, I would recommend to his serious attention the strongly expressed judgment of the learned Scaliger.

De Petri Romam adventu, sede xxv annorum, supremo capitis supplicio ibidem, nemo, qui paullo humanior fuerit, credere posset. Scal. in Joan. xviii. 31.

foundly silent; where the more zealous than discreet Defender of the Latin Creed and Discipline assures his readers, that they are *preëminently eloquent*. In truth, the silly tale rests not upon a shadow of historical foundation: and the early testimony both of Irenèus and of the author of the Apostolical Constitutions, though the unfortunate Irenèus has actually been summoned by Mr. Husenbeth as one of his witnesses, is, as we have seen, altogether fatal to the miserable legend¹.

¹ The figment seems to have been crawling into existence during the latter part of the fourth century: for, in a whimsically imperfect form, we find it in the writings of Epiphanius who flourished about that period.

This author tells us, that Peter and Paul conjointly, acting in the two-fold capacity of diocesan Bishops and universal Apostles, were the first Co-Bishops of Rome: and he adds, that, at the expiration of their double Episcopate, Linus became their successor. Epiph. cont. hæ. hæ. xxvii.

The origin of the anile fiction is abundantly plain. Irenèus had stated, that Peter and Paul were the Co-Founders of the Roman Church. Peter, therefore, could not be decently and instantaneously transformed into the first *sole* Bishop of Rome. Hence the two *Co-Founders* of Irenèus became, in the plastic hands of Epiphanius, the two first *Co-Bishops*.

If we admit this ridiculous story, how shall we save the infallibility of the first Nicene Council: which, in despite of Apostolical authority and example, has determined, that there shall *not* be two Bishops in one city? "Ἴνα μὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει δύο ἐπίσκοποι ᾤσιν. Concil. Nic. I. Can. viii. The truth was, the good Fathers of Nice knew no more, than Irenèus himself, about the *double* Roman Episcopate of Paul and Peter. If they *had*, we should assuredly have detected the remarkable fact in the Ec-

(7.) Mr. Berington contents himself with stating, as the belief of his brethren: that peculiar powers were given to St. Peter; and that the Bishop of Rome, as his successor, is the head of the whole Catholic Church¹.

Such is the statement given by Mr. Berington: but I must do him the justice to say, that he is far too prudent a man to hazard the specific declaration of Mr. Husenbeth, relative to *the constant testimony of ALL ecclesiastical writers, WITHOUT ONE EXCEPTION, for fifteen centuries*: a declaration, so far as the three first ages are concerned, rendered imposing indeed to the careless or unlearned reader by a parade of distinct reference; but a declaration, absolutely ludicrous to the more jealous inquirer, who refuses to accept hardy assertion without actual verification.

V. The singular scantiness of Mr. Berington's evidence, from the writers of the three first centuries, for the establishment of an alleged FACT, without a belief in which (according to the Tridentine Profession) we shall doubtless perish everlastingly, will have struck all who are acquainted even with the bare names of the Antenicene Fathers. He adduces only Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, and Cyprian. With what emolument he adduces this quaternion of witnesses, we have already seen.

clesiastical History of their contemporary and associate, Eusebius of Cesarèa.

¹ Faith of Cathol. p. 155.

Yet why should he have omitted Clement of Rome (himself a host in attesting the familiar dominant Supremacy of his own See ¹), and Barnabas, and Hermas, and Ignatius, and Polycarp, and Justin Martyr, and Tatian, and Athenagoras, and Clement of Alexandria, and Minucius Felix, and Hippolitus, and Novatian, and Theophilus of Antioch : for I will not rigidly call upon him to produce evidence out of the fragments of Caius, or Hegesippus, or Melito, or Archelaus, or Theonas, or the three Dionysii of Corinth and Rome and Alexandria ?

The simple truth is, that neither Scripture nor Primitive Antiquity gives the least countenance

¹ The Bishop of Strasbourg has a strong inclination to enlist the venerable Clement into the service of his Church : but Mr. Berington, far more prudently, leaves him undisturbed.

His lordship's account of the transaction, whence he would deduce the plain Supremacy of Clement, is: that Fortunatus came to Rome from Corinth, for the purpose of requesting the Head of the Catholic Church and the successor of St. Peter to *interpose his authority* and thus to put an end to the schismatical dissensions of the Corinthians.

Le vénérable Fortunatus—se rend à Rome pour solliciter le successeur de saint Pierre d'interposer son autorité.

The Bishop, then, gravely calls upon his english friend to note this primitive instance of *an appeal* to the chair of Peter.

Remarquez, je vous prie, ce recours à la chaire de Pierre, dès les premiers temps. Discuss. Amic. lett. ii. vol. i. p. 43.

From what part of Clement's Epistle, or from what other authentic source, Dr. Trevern has learned, that Fortunatus requested Clement to *interpose his supreme authority* at Corinth, and that this is an instance of *appeal to St. Peter's chair* from the earliest times ; I have not been able to discover.

to the childish fable, that our Lord appointed Peter the monarch of his Church, and that the Bishop of Rome is the rightful heir to the alleged universal dominant Supremacy of the Holy Apostle.

CHAPTER IV.

TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

THE doctrine of Transubstantiation, after having been briefly asserted by the second Council of Nice in the year 787, and after having been copiously though still imperfectly defined by the fourth Council of Lateran in the year 1215, was at length, with all its adjuncts and concomitants, fully specified and laid down, by the Council of Trent, during the course of its thirteenth session in the year 1551, and during the course of its twenty-second session in the year 1562¹.

¹ It may perhaps be doubtful, whether the second Nicene Council wished to inculcate *Transubstantiation* or *Consubstantiation*. At all events, it denied the bread and wine to be the *image* of the body and blood : and contended, that they are the very body and blood *themselves*.

Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ποτε τῶν σαλπύγγων τοῦ Πνεύματος ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, ἢ τῶν αἰοδίμων πατέρων ἡμῶν, τὴν ἀναίμακτον ἡμῶν θυσίαν—εἶπεν εἰκόνα τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ—Καὶ οὐκ εἶπε· Λάβετε, φάγετε, τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ σώματός μου—Οὐκοῦν σαφῶς ἀποδέδεικται, ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ οὔτε ὁ Κύριος, οὔτε οἱ ἀποστόλοι ἢ πατέρες, εἰ-

In the sacrament of the Eucharist, according to this last and most complete account of the matter, after the consecration of the bread and wine, our Lord Jesus Christ, true God and true man, is, truly and really and substantially, contained, under the species of those sensible objects : so that, immediately after consecration, the true body and the true blood of our Lord, together with his soul and divinity, exist under the species of bread and wine : for, by the very force of the words themselves, the blood exists under the species of the wine ; and the body, under the species of the bread. But, furthermore, by virtue of that natural connection and concomitance, through which the parts of the Lord, after his resurrection from the dead, are mutually joined together, the body

κόνα εἶπον τὴν διὰ τοῦ ἱερέως προσφερομένην ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ σῶμα καὶ αὐτὸ αἷμα. Concil. Nic. II. act. vi. Labb. Concil. vol. vii. p. 448, 449.

The fourth Council of Lateran, speaking more precisely than the second Council of Nice, determined, that the alleged material change in the elements, is not *consubstantiative* but *transubstantiative* : for it decided, that the bread and wine are, by virtue of consecration, *transubstantiated* into the body and blood of Christ.

Una vero est fidelium Universalis Ecclesia, extra quam nullus omnino salvatur. In qua idem ipse sacerdos et sacrificium Jesus Christus, cujus corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur : *transubstantiatis* pane in corpus, et vino in sanguinem, potestate divina, ut ad perficiendum mysterium unitatis accipiamus ipsi de suo quod accipit ipse de nostro. Concil. Later. iv. can. 1. Labb. Concil. vol. xi. par. 1. p. 143.

exists under the species of the wine, the blood exists under the species of the bread, and the soul exists under the species both of the bread and of the wine. The divinity, moreover, on account of its admirable hypostatic union with the body and the soul, similarly exists alike under each species. Wherefore, under each species and under both species, so much as even the whole is contained. For the entire Christ exists, both under the species of bread, and under each particle of that species: and the entire Christ exists, both under the species of wine, and under all the particles of that species. Hence, through the consecration of the bread and wine, there takes place a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the body of our Lord Christ, and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his blood: which conversion is properly and conveniently denominated Transubstantiation.

Of this doctrine, the practical result is the following.

All the faithful are bound to offer to the Eucharist that same adoration of Latria, which is paid to the Deity: for such adoration rests upon the belief that in that sacrament there is substantially present the filial God, concerning whom the Father pronounced, Let all the angels of God worship him. And, analogously, in point of beneficial efficacy, the Eucharist, being the identical sacrifice which Christ offered upon the cross, must be deemed a true propitiatory sacrifice, making satisfaction, each time that it is offered, not only for the living, but likewise for

*the dead in the Lord who have not as yet been fully purified*¹.

¹ Principio docet sancta Synodus, et apertè ac simpliciter profitetur, in almo sanctæ Eucharistiæ sacramento, post panis et vini consecrationem, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, verum Deum atque hominem, vere, realiter, ac substantialiter, sub specie illarum rerum sensibilibum contineri—Ita enim majores nostri omnes, quotquot in vera Christi Ecclesia fuerunt, qui de sanctissimo hoc sacramento disseruerunt, apertissimè professi sunt, hoc tam admirabile sacramentum in ultima cœna Redemptorem nostrum instituisse; cum post panis viniq̄ue benedictionem, se suum ipsius corpus illis præbere ac suum sanguinem, disertis ac perspicuis verbis testatus est. Concil. Trident. sess. xiii. c. 1. p. 122, 123.

Semper hæc fides in Ecclesia Dei fuit, statim post consecrationem, verum Domini nostri corpus verumque ejus sanguinem, sub panis et vini specie, una cum ipsius anima et divinitate, existere. Sed corpus quidem sub specie panis, et sanguinem sub vini specie, ex vi verborum. Ipsum autem corpus sub specie vini, et sanguinem sub specie panis, animamque sub utraque, vi naturalis illius connexionis et concomitantiae, qua partes Christi Domini, qui jam ex mortuis resurrexit non amplius moriturus, inter se copulantur: divinitatem porro, propter admirabilem illam ejus cum corpore et anima hypostaticam unionem. Quapropter verissimum est, tantundem sub alterutra specie atque sub utraque contineri: totus enim et integer Christus, sub panis specie et sub quavis ipsius speciei parte; totus item, sub vini specie et sub ejus partibus, existit. Ibid. c. 3. p. 124, 125.

Quoniam autem Christus redemptor noster, corpus suum id, quod sub specie panis offerebat, vere esse dixit: ideo persuasum semper in Ecclesia Dei fuit, idque nunc denuo sancta hæc Synodus declarat; per consecrationem panis et vini, conversionem fieri totius substantiæ panis in substantiam corporis Christi Domini nostri, et totius substantiæ vini in substantiam sanguinis ejus; quæ conversio convenienter et propriè a sancta Catholica Ecclesia *Transubstantiatio* est appellata. Ibid. c. 4. p. 125.

On this ample definition, the Council of Trent has built four out of its eleven canons respecting the sacrament of the Eucharist and two out of its nine canons respecting the sacrifice of the Mass: and it charitably curses every person, who either shall deny any one of the propositions contained in its definition, or who shall assert propositions contradictory to it¹.

I. We must note, that the Tridentine Fathers have given the whole of the preceding definition, not simply and nakedly, but complexly and traditionally.

They declare, that ALL their predecessors, who-

Nullus itaque dubitandi locus relinquitur, quin omnes Christi fideles, pro more in Catholica Ecclesia semper recepto, patriæ cultum, qui vero Deo debetur, huic sanctissimo sacramento in veneratione exhibeant. Neque enim ideo minus est adorandum, quod fuerit a Christo Domino, ut sumatur, institutum: nam illum eundem Deum præsentem in eo adesse credimus, quem Pater æternus, introducens in orbem terrarum, dicit, Et adorent eum omnes angeli Dei. Ibid. c. 5. p. 125, 126.

Et, quoniam in divino hoc sacrificio quod in Missa peragitur, idem ille Christus continetur et incruente immolatur, qui in ara crucis semel seipsum cruenta obtulit, docet sancta Synodus, sacrificium istud vere propitiatorium esse—Una enim eademque est hostia, idem nunc offerens sacerdotum ministerio, qui seipsum tunc in cruce obtulit, sola offerendi ratione diversa—Quare non solum pro fidelium vivorum peccatis, pœnis, satisfactionibus, et aliis necessitatibus; sed et pro defunctis in Christo, nondum ad plenum purgatis; rite, juxta Apostolorum traditionem, offertur. Ibid. sess. xxii. c. 2. p. 239, 240.

¹ Concil. Trident. sess. xiii. can. 1, 2, 3, 4. p. 129, 130. sess. xxii. can. 1, 3. p. 244.

soever were in the true Church of Christ, have *invariably* professed the same doctrine with themselves: they assert, that *this very faith*, namely *faith in Transubstantiation as they have defined it*, was ALWAYS in the Church of God: they affirm, that the adoration of the Eucharist, with that worship of *Latria* which is due only to the true God, was a practice ALWAYS received in the Church Catholic: and they pronounce, that the propitiatory quality of the Eucharist, as a piacular sacrifice both for the quick and for the dead, is enforced by them STRICTLY according to the teaching and tradition of the Apostles themselves.

Thus, most indisputably, in the face of the whole world, they allege A DIRECT HISTORICAL FACT. Hence, the FACT, so alleged, must be established according to the well known laws of evidence: and hence the divines of the Latin Church, feeling the necessity of the case, have attempted to establish this FACT by the joint testimony of Scripture and of the early ecclesiastical writers.

1. The following is the evidence produced from Scripture, for the purpose of substantiating the alleged FACT: that *The doctrine of Transubstantiation with all its adjuncts and concomitants, as ultimately defined by the Council of Trent, was the doctrine, originally taught by Christ and his Apostles, and from them received by the Catholic Church in the very beginning.*

(1.) *I am the living bread, which came down from heaven. If any man eat of this bread, he shall live*

*for ever : and the bread, that I will give, is my flesh ; which I will give for the life of the world—Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood ; ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life : and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is meat indeed : and my blood is drink indeed. He, that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father : so he, that eateth me, shall even live by me. This is the bread, which came down from heaven : not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead. He, that eateth of this bread, shall live for ever*¹.

(2.) *And, as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake, and gave to the disciples, and said : Take, eat ; this is my body. And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave to them, saying : Drink ye all of it ; for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins*².

(3.) *The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ*³ ?

(4.) *For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you : that the Lord Jesus, the*

¹ John vi. 51—58.

² Matt. xxvi. 26—28. Compare Mark xiv. 22—24. Luke xxii. 19, 20.

³ 1 Corinth. x. 16.

*same night in which he was betrayed, took bread: and, when he had given thanks, he brake, and said: Take, eat; this is my body, which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also, he took the cup, when he had supped, saying: This cup is the new testament in my blood; this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. For, as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come*¹.

(5.) *I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of hosts: neither will I accept an offering at your hand. For, from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles: and, in every place, incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering*².

(6.) *We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle. For the bodies of those beasts, whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high-priest for sin, are burned without the camp. Wherefore, Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate*³.

¹ 1 Corinth. xi. 23—26.

² Malach. i. 10, 11.

³ Heb. xiii. 10—12. Mr. Berington likewise adduces, in evidence, Acts xiii. 2. Rev. v. 6, 8—10. I omit crowding my page with these texts, simply because I cannot discover in them the slightest relevancy to the subject in hand. The texts, here given at length, are cited, by Mr. Berington in *The Faith of Cathol.* p. 193, 194, 251, 253, and by the Bishop of Strasbourg in *Discuss. Amic. lett.* vii. vol. i. p. 281—287.

2. Such is the evidence, produced by the divines of the Latin Church from Scripture: the following is the evidence, produced for the same purpose from the writers of the three first centuries.

(1.) Clement of Rome, the fellow-labourer of St. Paul, flourished during the course of the first age.

*We ought to do all things in order, whatsoever the Lord has commanded us to perform. He has commanded, that our oblations and liturgies should be performed at appointed seasons, and not be made accidentally or disorderly—They, therefore, who make their oblations at the appointed seasons, are acceptable and blessed: for, following the laws of the Lord, they err not*¹.

(2.) Ignatius, the disciple of St. John, flourished at the latter end of the first century and at the beginning of the second.

The gnosticising Docetæ abstain from the Eucharist and from prayer: because they confess not, that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, which the Father raised up through his goodness. They, therefore,

¹ Πάντα τάξει ποιεῖν ὀφείλομεν, ὅσα ὁ δεσπότης ἐπιτελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. Κατὰ καιροὺς τεταγμένους τὰς τε προσφοράς καὶ λειτουργίας ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, καὶ οὐκ εἰκῆ ἢ ἀτάκτως ἐκέλευσεν γίνεσθαι—Οἱ οὖν τοῖς προστεταγμένοις καιροῖς ποιοῦντες τὰς προσφοράς αὐτῶν, εὐπρόσδεκτοί τε καὶ μακάριοι· τοῖς γὰρ νομίμοις τοῦ δεσπότητος ἀκολουθοῦντες οὐ διαμαρτάνουσιν. Clem. Rom. Epist. ad Corinth. i. § 40.

*who contradict the gift of God, perish while questioning*¹.

*I delight not in perishable food, nor in the pleasures of this life. The bread of God I desire, heavenly bread, the bread of life, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, the son of God, born afterward from the seed of David: and the drink of God I desire, even his blood, which is incorruptible love and eternal life*².

(3.) Justin Martyr flourished during the earlier half of the second century.

This food is among us called the Eucharist: of which it is lawful for no other person to partake, save him, who believes that the matters taught by us are true, and who has been washed in the laver which is for the remission of sins and to regeneration, and who lives thus as Christ has delivered. For we take not these, as common bread nor as common drink: but, in what manner Jesus Christ our Saviour, being made flesh through the word of God, had both flesh and blood for our salvation; thus also we have been taught, that the nourishment, over which thanks

¹ Εὐχαριστίας τε καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχονται, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν παθοῦσαν, ἣν τῇ χρηστότητι ὁ Πατήρ ἠγειρεν. Οἱ οὖν ἀντιλέγοντες τῇ δωρεᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ, συζητοῦντες ἀποθνήσκουσι. Ignat. Epist. ad Smyrn. § vii.

² Οὐχ ἡδομαι τροφῇ φθορᾶς, οὐδὲ ἡδοναῖς τοῦ βίου τούτου ἄρτον Θεοῦ θέλω, ἄρτον οὐράνιον, ἄρτον ζωῆς, ὅς ἐστι σὰρξ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ γενομένου ἐν ὑστέρω ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβίδ· καὶ πόμα Θεοῦ θέλω, τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀγάπη ἄφθαρτος καὶ ἀένναος ζωῆς. Ignat. Epist. ad Rom. § vii.

have been given through prayer of the word that was from him, and from which our flesh and blood are through mutation nourished, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh. For the Apostles, in the Treatises called Gospels, have thus handed down that Jesus commanded them. When he had taken bread and had given thanks, he said: *Do this in remembrance of me; this is my body.* And, in like manner, when he had taken the cup and had given thanks, he said: *This is my blood*¹.

Being inflamed through the word of his calling, we are the true sacerdotal offspring of God: as also God himself witnesses, saying, that, in every place among the nations, they offer unto him acceptable and pure sacrifices. But God receives sacrifices from no one, except through his priests. Wherefore,

¹ Ἡ τροφή αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν εὐχαριστία ἧς οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ μετασχεῖν ἐξόν ἐστιν, ἢ τῷ πιστεύοντι ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ δεδιδαγμένα ὑφ' ἡμῶν, καὶ λουσαμένῳ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ἀναγέννησιν λουτρὸν, καὶ οὕτως βιοῦντι ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς παρέδωκεν. Οὐ γὰρ, ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν· ἀλλ', ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν· οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι. Οἱ γὰρ ἀπόστολοι, ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια, οὕτως παρέδωκαν ἐντετάλθαι αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, λαβόντα ἄρτον, εὐχαριστήσαντα, εἰπεῖν· Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησίν μου· τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμά μου· καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὁμοίως λαβόντα καὶ εὐχαριστήσαντα, εἰπεῖν· Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου. Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 76, 77.

predicting all who through this name offer the sacrifice which Jesus Christ ordained to be offered, that is to say, in the Eucharist of the bread and the cup, which sacrifices are offered up by Christians in every part of the earth, God testifies, that they are well pleasing to him. But the sacrifices, which are offered by you Jews and through your priests, he rejects, saying: I will not accept your sacrifices from your hands; for, from the rising of the sun unto its setting, my name has been glorified among the nations— Wherefore I also myself say, that prayers and thanksgivings, offered up by the worthy, are the only sacrifices, which are perfect and acceptable to God. For Christians have been taught to offer these alone, even in the commemorativeness of their dry and liquid food, in which also commemoration is made of the passion which God suffered through God himself¹.

¹ Πρωθέντες διὰ τοῦ λόγου τῆς κλήσεως αὐτοῦ, ἀρχιερατικὸν τὸ ἀληθινὸν γένος ἐσμὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς μαρτυρεῖ, εἰπὼν· "Ὅτι, ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι, θυσίας εὐαρέστους αὐτῷ καὶ καθαρὰς προσφέροντες. Οὐ δέχεται δὲ παρ' οὐδενὸς θυσίας ὁ Θεός, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν ἱερέων αὐτοῦ. Πάντας οὖν οἱ διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου θυσίας ἅς παρέδωκεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς γίνεσθαι, τουτέστιν ἐπὶ τῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου, τὰς ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ τῆς γῆς γινομένας ὑπὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, προλαβὼν ὁ Θεός, μαρτυρεῖ εὐαρέστους ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ. Τὰς δὲ ὑφ' ἡμῶν καὶ δι' ἐκείνων ἡμῶν τῶν ἱερέων γινομένας ἀπαναίναται, λέγων· Καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἡμῶν οὐ προσδέξομαι ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν· διότι, ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου ἕως δυσμῶν, τὸ ὄνομά μου δεδόξασται, λέγει, ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν—"Ὅτι μὲν οὖν καὶ εὐχαὶ καὶ εὐχαρισταί, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀξίων γινόμεναι, τέλειαι μόναι καὶ εὐαρέστοι εἰσι τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαι, καὶ αὐτὸς φημι. Ταῦτα γὰρ μόναι καὶ Χριστιανοὶ παρέλαβον

(4.) Irenæus lived through the greater part of the second century, and wrote his *Work* against heresies about the year 175.

*Giving council to his disciples, that they should offer unto God the first-fruits of his creatures, not as if he wanted any thing, but that they themselves might be neither unfruitful nor ungrateful, he took the creature bread, and gave thanks, saying: This is my body. And, in like manner, the cup, which according to us is of the creature, he confessed to be his own blood: and taught the new oblation of the New Testament, which the Church, receiving it from the Apostles, offers to God throughout the whole world, even to him who in the New Testament grants unto us for food the first-fruits of his own gifts. Respecting this, Malachi thus predicted. I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of hosts: neither will I accept an offering at your hand. For, from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles: and, in every place, incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering: and my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of hosts*¹.

ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐπ' ἀναμνήσει δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν ξηρᾶς τε καὶ ὑγρᾶς, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τοῦ πάθους ὁ πέπονθε δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 269, 270.

¹ Sed et suis discipulis dans consilium, primitias Deo offerre ex suis creaturis, non quasi indigenti, sed ut ipsi nec infructuosi nec ingrati sint, eum, qui ex creatura panis est, accepit, et gratias egit, dicens: *Hoc est corpus meum.* Et calicem

We ought to make an offering unto God and in all things to be grateful to our Creator, in a pure purpose, in faith without hypocrisy, in a firm hope, in fervent love, offering the first-fruits of the creatures. And this pure oblation the Church alone offers to the Creator, offering to him of his creature with thanksgiving. But the Jews now offer it not; for their hands are full of blood: for they have not received the word through which it is offered to God. Nor do all the synagogues of heretics offer it.—For to them how can it be a matter of certainty, that that bread, over which thanks have been given, is the body of their Lord, and that the cup is the cup of his blood, if they admit not him to be the Son of the Creator of the world?—And how, again, do they say, that the flesh passes into corruption and receives not life, which is nourished from the body and blood of the Lord? wherefore, either let them change their opinion, or let them abstain from offering the things which have been predicted. But our opinion is con-

similiter, qui est ex ea creatura quæ est secundum nos, suum sanguinem confessus est: et novi testamenti novam docuit oblationem, quam Ecclesia ab Apostolis accipiens in universo mundo offert Deo, ei qui alimenta nobis præstat primitias suorum munerum in novo testamento: de quo, in duodecim prophetis, Malachias sic præsignificavit: *Non est mihi voluntas in vobis, dicit Dominus omnipotens; et sacrificium non accipiam de manibus vestris. Quoniam, ab ortu solis usque ad occasum, nomen meum glorificatur inter gentes: et in omni loco incensum offertur nomini meo, et sacrificium purum. Quoniam magnum est nomen meum in gentibus, dicit Dominus omnipotens.* Iren. adv. hæer. lib. iv. c. 32. p. 261.

*sonant to the Eucharist : and the Eucharist, again, confirms our opinion. For we offer unto him the things which are his, harmoniously preaching the communication and unity of the flesh and the spirit. For, as bread, which is from the earth, receiving the vocation of God, is now not common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two things, an earthly thing and a heavenly thing : so likewise our bodies, receiving the Eucharist, are now not corruptible, having hope of the resurrection. But we offer unto him, not as if he wanted : but giving thanks to his gift, and sanctifying the creature*¹.

¹ Oportet enim nos oblationem Deo facere, et in omnibus gratos inveniri fabricatori Deo, in sententia pura, et fide sine hypocrisi, in spe firma, in dilectione ferventi, primitias earum quæ sunt eis creaturarum offerentes : et hanc oblationem Ecclesia sola puram offert fabricatori, offerens ei cum gratiarum actione ex creatura ejus. Judæi autem jam non offerunt : manus enim eorum sanguine plenæ sunt : non enim receperunt verbum, per quod offertur Deo. Sed neque omnes hæreticorum synagogæ—Quomodo autem constabit eis, eum panem, in quo gratiæ actæ sunt, corpus esse Domini sui, et calicem sanguinis ejus, si non ipsum fabricatoris mundi filium dicant, id est, verbum ejus?—Quomodo autem rursus dicunt carnem in corruptionem devenire, et non percipere vitam, quæ a corpore Domini et sanguine alitur? Ergo aut sententiam mutant, aut absterneant offerendo quæ prædicta sunt. Nostra autem consonans est sententia Eucharistiæ : et Eucharistia rursus confirmat sententiam nostram. Offerimus enim ei quæ sunt ejus, congruenter communicationem et unitatem prædicantes carnis et Spiritus. Quemadmodum enim qui est a terra panis, percipiens vocationem Dei, jam non communis panis est, sed Eucharistia, ex duabus rebus constans, terrena et cœlesti : sic et corpora nostra, percipientia Eucharistiam, jam non sunt corruptibilia, spem

They are altogether vain, who despise the universal disposition of God and deny the salvation of the flesh and spurn its regeneration, saying, that it is not capable of incorruptibility. According, then, to these things, the Lord did not redeem us with his own blood; nor is the cup of the Eucharist the communication of his blood; nor is the bread, which we break, the communication of his body—That cup, which is a creature, he confirmed his own body, from which he increases our bodies. When, therefore, the mixed cup and the broken bread receive the word of God, the Eucharist of the body and blood of Christ is made, from which the substance of our flesh is increased and consists. How, then, do they deny, that the flesh is capable of the gift of God who is eternal life, since that flesh is nourished by the blood and body of Christ?—As the wood of the vine, deposited in the earth, fructifies in its own time; and as a grain of wheat, falling into the earth and being dissolved, rises manifold through the Spirit of God, who contains all things that afterward (and the blood of Christ) come through wisdom in use to men: thus likewise our bodies, being nourished from it, and placed in the earth and dissolved in it, shall rise in their own time to the glory of God the Father, the word of God giving unto them resurrection¹.

resurrectionis habentia. Offerimus autem ei non quasi indigenti, sed gratias agentes donationi ejus, sanctificantes creaturam. Iren. adv. hæc. lib. iv. c. 34. p. 263, 264.

¹ Vani autem omnimodo, qui universam dispositionem Dei contemnunt, et carnis salutem negant, et regenerationem ejus

(5.) Tertullian flourished at the latter end of the second century and at the beginning of the third.

Professing, therefore, that he vehemently desired to eat the passover as his own (for it were unworthy that God should desire any thing not his own); by saying, This is my body, that is The figure of my body, he made the bread his own body, when he had received it and distributed it to his disciples. But it could not have been a figure, unless his body had been a true body: for an empty thing, such as a phantasm, cannot admit of a figure. Therefore, if he fashioned bread a body to himself, because he had not a true body: then he ought to deliver bread for us. It would well have suited the folly of Mar-

spernunt, dicentes non eam capacem esse incorruptibilitatis. Sic autem, secundum hæc videlicet, nec Dominus sanguine suo redemit nos; neque calix Eucharistiæ communicatio sanguinis ejus; neque panis, quem frangimus, communicatio corporis ejus—Eum calicem, qui est creatura, suum corpus confirmavit; ex quo nostra auget corpora. Quando ergo et mixtus calix et fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit Eucharistia sanguinis et corporis Christi, ex quibus augetur et consistit carnis nostræ substantia. Quomodo carnem negant capacem esse donationis Dei, qui est vita æterna, quæ sanguine et corpore Christi nutritur?—Quemadmodum lignum vitis, depositum in terra, suo fructificat tempore; et granum tritici, decidens in terram et dissolutum, multiplex surgit per spiritum Dei, qui continet omnia quæ deinde per sapientiam in usum hominibus veniunt et sanguis Christi: sic et nostra corpora, ex ea nutrita et reposita in terram et resoluta in ea, resurgent in suo tempore, verbo Dei resurrectionem eis donante, in gloriam Dei Patris. Iren. adv. hæc. lib. v. c. 4. p. 319.

cion, that bread should be crucified. But why does he call bread his body, and not rather a pumpkin? Truly we might well say, that Marcion had a pumpkin rather than brains in his skull, since he is ignorant that bread was the ancient figure of the body of Christ—Therefore the illuminator of the old prophetic phraseology sufficiently declared, by calling bread his body, what he then intended bread to have signified¹.

He indeed, even to the present time, rejected, neither that water of the Creator by which he washes his own, nor the oil with which he anoints his own, nor the communion of honey and milk with which he suckles his own, nor the bread by which he represents his own body; needing, even in his own sacraments, the beggarly elements of the Creator².

¹ Professus itaque se concupiscentia concupisse edere pascha ut suum (indignum enim ut quid alienum concupisceret Deus), acceptum panem et distributum discipulis, corpus suum illud fecit, *Hoc est corpus meum* dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei. Figura autem non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset corpus. Cæterum vacua res, quod est phantasma, figuram capere non posset. Aut, si propterea panem corpus sibi finxit, quia corporis carebat veritate, ergo panem debuit tradere pro nobis. Faciebat ad vanitatem Marcionis, ut panis crucifigeretur. Cur autem panem *corpus suum* appellat, et non magis peponem, quem Marcion cordis loco habuit, non intelligens veterem fuisse istam figuram corporis Christi? Itaque illuminator antiquitatum, quid tunc voluerit significasse panem, satis declaravit, *corpus suum* vocans panem. Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. iv. § 60. Oper. p. 285.

² Ille quidem, usque nunc, nec aquam reprobavit Creatoris qua suos abluit, nec oleum quo suos unguat, nec mellis et lactis

*Our flesh is fed with the body and blood of Christ, that our soul also may be fattened from God*¹.

*The Jews laid hands upon Christ only once: but these daily insult his body*².

*Christ is our bread: because Christ is life, and bread is life. I, says he, am the bread of life: and, a little above; The bread is the Word of the living God, who descended from heaven: and, because his body is deemed of in the bread; This is my body. Therefore, in praying for our daily bread, we beg a perpetuity in Christ and an indivisibility from his body*³.

(6.) Origen flourished during the first half of the third century.

societatem qua suos infantat, nec panem quo ipsum corpus suum repræsentat, etiam in sacramentis propriis egens mendicitatibus Creatoris. Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. i. § 9. Oper. p. 155.

¹ Caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur, ut et anima de Deo saginetur. Tertull. de resurr. carn. § 6. Oper. p. 50.

² Semel Judæi Christo manus intulerunt: isti quotidie corpus ejus lacessunt. Tertull. de idol. Oper. p. 731.

³ Christus enim panis noster est: quia vita, Christus; et vita, panis. *Ego sum, inquit, panis vitæ: et paulo supra; Panis est sermo Dei vivi, qui descendit de cælis: tum quod et corpus ejus in pane censetur; Hoc est corpus meum.* Itaque, petendo panem quotidianum, perpetuitatem postulamus in Christo et individuitatem a corpore ejus. Tertull. de orat. Oper. p. 790.

Mr. Berington likewise cites a passage from Tertull. adv. Jud. Oper. p. 124, 125. for the purpose of shewing that the Eucharist was deemed a propitiatory sacrifice: but, as he himself admits that Tertullian supposes Malachi to speak of the

*Let Celsus, as ignorant of God, offer up his placatory vows to demons : but we, pleasing the Creator of the universe, eat bread, which has been brought with thanksgiving and prayer for his gifts ; and which, on account of prayer, has become a certain body, holy itself, and sanctifying those who use it with a sound purpose*¹.

(7.) Hippolytus was contemporary with Origen, having flourished during the earlier part of the third age.

*He has prepared his own table, the promised knowledge of the Holy Trinity, and moreover his honoured and unpolluted body and blood : which, in the mystical and divine table, are daily sacrificed for a memorial of that ever to be remembered and first table of the mystical divine supper—Come, eat my bread, and drink the wine which I have mingled for you. His divine flesh and his honoured body he has given unto us, he says, to eat and drink for the remission of sins*².

pure sacrifices of the heart and not of the establishment of a real sacrificial offering ; the passage, by his own confession, is clearly quite irrelevant, and therefore may well be omitted. Faith of Cathol. p. 257.

¹ Κέλσος μὲν, ὡς ἀγνοῶν Θεὸν, τὰ χαριστήρια δαίμοσιν ἀποδιδότω· ἡμεῖς δὲ, τῷ τοῦ παντὸς δημιουργῷ εὐαρεστοῦντες, καὶ τοὺς μετ' εὐχαριστίας καὶ εὐχῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς δοθεῖσι προσαγομένους ἄρτους ἐσθίομεν, σῶμα γενομένους διὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἅγιον τι καὶ ἀγιάζον τοὺς μετὰ ὑγιῶς προθέσεως αὐτῷ χρωμένων. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. viii. p. 399.

² Καὶ ἡτοιμάσατο τὴν ἑαυτῆς τράπεζαν· τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος κατεπαγγελλομένην, καὶ τὸ τίμιον καὶ ἄχραντον

(8.) Cyprian flourished about the middle of the third century.

*A more severe and ferocious combat is impending: to which, with uncorrupted faith and stout valour, the soldiers of Christ ought to prepare themselves; considering, that they therefore daily drink the cup of Christ's blood, that themselves may be able to shed their blood for Christ*¹.

*But now peace is necessary, not for the weak, but for the strong; nor is communion to be given from us to the dead, but to the living: that we may not leave those, whom we excite and exhort to the battle, unarmed and naked; but that we may fortify them with the protection of the blood and body of Christ*².

αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα, ἅπερ ἐν τῇ μυστικῇ καὶ θείᾳ τραπέζῃ καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπιτελοῦνται θυόμενα εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τῆς ἀειμνήστου καὶ πρώτης ἐκείνης τραπέζης τοῦ μυστικοῦ θεοῦ δείπνου—Ἐλθετε, φάγετε τὸν ἐμὸν ἄρτον, καὶ πίετε οἶνον ὃν κέκρακα ὑμῖν τὴν θείαν αὐτοῦ σάρκα καὶ τὸ τίμιον αὐτοῦ αἷμα δέδωκεν ἡμῖν, φησὶν, ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Hippol. in Prov. ix. 1. Oper. vol. i. p. 282. Hamburg. 1716.

Christ is here spoken of as the personal Wisdom: but, in my version, I have found it more convenient, at the beginning of the passage, to adopt the masculine form, instead of the feminine form of the original.

¹ Gravior nunc et ferocior pugna imminet, ad quam, fide incorrupta et virtute robusta, parare se debent milites Christi; considerantes, idecirco se quotidie calicem sanguinis Christi bibere, ut possint et ipsi propter Christum sanguinem fundere. Cyprian. Epist. lviii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 120.

² At vero nunc, non infirmis sed fortibus, pax necessaria est; nec morientibus, sed viventibus, communicatio a nobis danda est: ut, quos excitamus et hortamur ad prælium, non inermes

*When Christ says; I am the true vine: the blood of Christ is not water, but wine. His blood, by which we are redeemed and vivified, cannot be seen in the cup, when wine, by which the blood of Christ is shewn, is wanting to the cup: for, by the sacrament and testimony of all the Scriptures, that blood is declared to have been poured forth*¹.

*Melchisedek was the priest of the most high God, because he offered bread and wine, and because he blessed Abraham. For who is more the priest of the Most High God than our Lord Jesus Christ: who offered a sacrifice to God the Father, and who offered the very same that Melchisedek had offered; that is, bread and wine; to wit, his own body and blood*²?

Returning from the altars of the devil, they approach the Lord's holy thing with hands sordid and

et nudos relinquamus; sed, protectione sanguinis et corporis Christi, muniamus. Cyprian. Epist. lvii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 117.

¹ Cum dicat Christus; *Ego sum vitis vera*: sanguis Christi non aqua est utique, sed vinum. Nec potest videri sanguis ejus, quo redempti et vivificati sumus, esse in calice, quando vinum desit calici: quo Christi sanguis ostenditur, qui scripturarum omnium sacramento ac testimonio effusus prædicatur. Cyprian. Epist. lxiii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 148.

² Melchisedech sacerdos Dei summi fuit, quod panem et vinum obtulit, quod Abraham benedixit. Nam quis magis sacerdos Dei summi, quam Dominus noster Jesus Christus: qui sacrificium Deo patri obtulit, et obtulit hoc idem quod Melchisedech obtulerat; id est, Panem et vinum; suum, scilicet, corpus et sanguinem? Cyprian. Epist. lxiii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 149.

infected with the odour of pagan sacrifices. Well nigh belching forth the deadly food of idols, with jaws even still exhaling their wickedness and redolent of the funeral contagion, they invade the body of the Lord—Whosoever shall eat the bread or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, he shall be guilty of the Lord's body and blood. Yet, all such denunciations as these being despised and contemned, to his body and blood violence is offered: and thus they sin against the Lord with their hands and their mouth, even more than when they denied the Lord¹.

Christ is the bread of life: and this is not the bread of all; but it is our bread. And, as we say Our Father; because he is the Father of those who understand and believe: so we call the bread our bread; because Christ is the bread of us, who touch his body. We daily pray, that this bread may be given to us: lest we, who are in Christ, and who daily receive the Eucharist for the food of salvation, should be separated from the body of Christ, through the intervention of some heavy offence, while being absent and not communicating we are prohibited

¹ *A diaboli aris revertentes, ad sanctum Domini sordidis et infectis nidore manibus accedunt. Mortiferos idolorum cibos adhuc pene ructantes, exhalantibus etiam nunc scelus suum faucibus et contagia funesta redolentibus, Domini corpus invadunt—Quicumque ederit panem aut biberit calicem Domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini. Spretis his omnibus atque contemtis, vis infertur corpori ejus et sanguini: et plus modo in Dominum manibus atque ore delinquant, quam cum Dominum negaverunt. Cyprian. de laps. Oper. vol. i. p. 128.*

*from the heavenly bread. He himself has admonished us: I am the bread of life, which came down from heaven. If any one shall eat of my bread, he shall live for ever. But the bread, which I shall give for the life of the world, is my flesh. Since, therefore, he says, that whosoever shall eat of his bread shall live for ever: as it is manifest, that those live who touch his body and who receive the Eucharist by the right of communion; so, on the contrary, we must fear and pray, lest, while any one is separated from the body of Christ, he should remain at a distance from salvation*¹.

When the Lord calls the bread his body, which bread is formed from the union of many grains; he indicates, that our people, whom he carried, is united: and, when he calls the wine his blood, which wine is

¹ Panis vitæ Christus est: et panis hic omnium non est, sed noster est. Et, quomodo dicimus, *Pater noster*; quia intelligentium et credentium pater est: sic et panem nostrum vocamus; quia Christus noster (qui corpus ejus contingimus) panis est. Hunc autem panem dari nobis quotidie postulamus: ne, qui in Christo sumus et Eucharistiam quotidie ad cibum salutis accipimus, intercedente aliquo graviore delicto, dum abstinenti et non communicantes a cœlesti pane prohibemur, a Christi corpore separemur; ipso prædicante et monente: *Ego sum panis vitæ qui de cœlo descendi. Si quis ederit de meo pane, vivet in æternum. Panis autem, quem ego dedero, caro mea est, pro seculi vita.* Quando ergo dicit in æternum vivere, si quis ederit de ejus pane; ut manifestum est, eos vivere, qui corpus ejus attingunt et Eucharistiam jure communicationis accipiunt: ita contra timendum est et orandum, ne, dum quis abstentus separatur a Christi corpore, procul remaneat a salute. Cyprian. de orat. domin. Oper. vol. i. p. 146, 147.

*expressed out of many grapes and collected into one ; he signifies our flock joined together by the commixtion of an united multitude*¹.

(9.) Firmilian of Cesarea in Cappadocia was the contemporary and correspondent of Cyprian.

*How great an offence is it, either of those who are admitted, or of those who admit, that, without washing away their filth through the laver of the Church and without confessing their sins, they should rashly, by an usurped communion, touch the body and blood of the Lord ; when it is written : Whosoever shall eat the bread or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the Lord's body and blood*².

(10.) Out of these nine writers, and indeed out of any of the writers of the three first centuries, two only can be produced, Tertullian and Cyprian, who even *seem* to give any countenance to the

¹ Quando Dominus *corpus suum* panem vocat, de multorum granorum adunatione congestum ; populum nostrum, quem portabat, indicat adunatum : et, quando *sanguinem suum* vinum appellat, de botris atque acinis plurimis expressum atque in unum coactum ; gregem item nostrum significat, commixtione adunatæ multitudinis copulatum. Cyprian. Epist. lxxix. Oper. vol. ii. p. 182.

² Ceterum quale delictum est, vel illorum qui admittuntur, vel eorum qui admittunt ; ut, non ablutis per Ecclesiæ lavacrum sordibus nec peccatis expositis, usurpata temere communicatione contingant corpus et sanguinem Domini ; cum scriptum sit : *Quicumque ederit panem aut biberit calicem Domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini.* Firmil. Epist. ad Cyprian. in Oper. Cyprian. epist. lxxv. vol. ii. p. 227.

doctrine, that the Eucharist is a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead.

*We annually make oblations for the dead, for their nativities*¹.

*Let her pray for his soul: and let her, meanwhile, beg for him refreshment and a participation in the first resurrection: and let her offer on the anniversaries of his dormition*².

*And now repeat with God, for whose spirit you pray, for whom you make annual oblations*³.

*Since Victor, contrary to the form lately given in Council from the priest, dared to appoint the presbyter Faustinus guardian of his children: it is not fitting, that any oblation should be made among you for his dormition, or that any prayer in his name should be repeated in the church*⁴.

We always, as you remember, offer up sacrifices for them, as often as we celebrate the passions

¹ Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis, annua die facimus. Tertull. de coron. milit. § 3. Oper. p. 449.

² Pro anima ejus oret; et refrigerium interim adpostulet ei et in prima resurrectione consortium; et offerat annuis diebus dormitionis ejus. Tertull. de monogam. § 10. Oper. p. 578.

³ Et jam repete apud Deum, pro cujus spiritu postules, pro qua oblationes annuas reddas. Tertull. exhort. ad castit. Oper. p. 564.

⁴ Ideo Victor cum, contra formam nuper in Concilio a sacerdotibus datam, Geminium Faustinum presbyterum ausus sit tutorem constituere: non est, quod pro dormitione ejus apud vos fiat oblatio, aut deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in ecclesia frequentetur. Cyprian. Epist. i. Oper. vol. ii. p. 3.

and days of the martyrs by an anniversary commemoration ¹.

II. This is the case, made out from Scripture and from the writers of the three first centuries by the Bishop of Strasbourg and Mr. Berington, in favour of the decision of the Council of Trent relative to the doctrine of the Eucharist: a decision, professedly built upon the authority of Christ and his Apostles, and professedly purporting to set forth the universally received doctrine of the primitive Church from the very beginning ².

Hence, after duly perusing the case, the cautious inquirer must consider, how far it substantiates the alleged FACT: that *The doctrine of the Eucharist, as inculcated by the Council of Trent, is the identical doctrine which was received by the primitive Church from Christ and his Apostles* ³.

¹ Sacrificia pro eis semper, ut meministis, offerimus, quoties martyrum passiones et dies anniversaria commemoratione celebramus. Cyprian. Epist. xxxix. Oper. vol. ii. p. 77.

² The passages, here given, are adduced by Mr. Berington in *The Faith of Cathol.* p. 195—203, 254—260, 354, and by the Bishop of Strasbourg in *Discuss. Amic.* vol. ii. p. 76—83.

³ It is a matter of deep and awful importance, that, if the doctrine of Transubstantiation be false, the practical result is: that the Roman Church, when she inculcates the duty of worshipping the consecrated elements with the same adoration as that which is paid to the Deity, most indisputably inculcates an act of gross idolatry.

This very plain matter has indeed been acknowledged, in the fullest terms, by Cardinal Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.

Nulli dubium esse potest, si nihil in Eucharistia præter pa-

III. Let us begin with a careful examination of the evidence produced from Scripture.

1. In prosecuting this examination, our attention will naturally be first directed to the several texts themselves.

(1.) That, for the purpose of establishing the doctrine of Transubstantiation, latin theologians should ever have adduced the language of our Lord at Capernaum as recorded by St. John, may well astonish any person, who has perused the entire discourse ¹.

When Christ declared the necessity of eating the flesh of the son of man and of drinking his blood, both the Jewish auditors at large and the disciples in particular, understanding his words after the *literal* manner in which the Romanists now contend that they *ought* to be understood, were grievously offended at the assurance, that he would give them his flesh to eat.

nem sit, quin tota Ecclesia, jam per xv annos centenarios, idololatra fuerit; ac, proinde, quotquot ante nos hoc Sacramentum adoraverunt, omnes ad unum esse damnatos: nam creaturam panis adoraverint Creatoris loco. Fisher. Roffens. cont. Œcolamp. Oper. p. 760. Wirceburg. 1597.

Of course, the learned Cardinal, in this passage, asserts, what few sober examiners of antiquity will be disposed to grant; that the Church, *from the very beginning*, adored the Eucharist: but his statement, that *the worship of the consecrated elements is idolatry if the doctrine of Transubstantiation be false*, is, as he justly remarks, indubitable.

¹ John vi. 26—63.

Upon this, our Lord hastened to correct their mistake, by assuring them: that his declaration was to be understood, not carnally or literally, but spiritually or figuratively.

*It is the spirit, that quickeneth: the flesh profiteth nothing. The words, that I speak unto you, are spirit and are life*¹.

Though, doubtless, plain common sense requires that Christ's explanation of his own phraseology should be thus interpreted: yet, to a Romanist, it may be important to know, that this view of the explanation is no way *peculiar* to modern divines of the Reformed Churches, as if it had been *recently* taken up merely to serve a turn in controversy. Long before the eventful period of the sixteenth century, our Lord's explanation was understood, precisely as we Anglicans *now* understand it, by those two great divines, the one of the Latin and the other of the Greek Church, Augustine and Athanasius².

For reasons best known to himself, Mr. Berington, when citing the words of Christ for the purpose of establishing the doctrine of Transubstantiation, has thought it expedient to *suppress* Christ's own explanation of his own words: an explanation elicited by the circumstance, that those

¹ John vi. 63.

² August. Enarr. in Psalm. xcvi. Oper. vol. viii. p. 397. Athan. in illud Evang. Quicumque dixerit verbum contra filium hominis. Oper. vol. i. p. 771, 772. See these passages quoted at large below, book ii. c. 4. § iii. 3. 6.

words were by his auditors understood *literally*¹. The *whole* discourse, when fairly produced, *explanation* as well as *antecedent phraseology*, so far from being evidence *in favour* of Transubstantiation, affords a strong and decisive testimony *against* that doctrine.

(2.) With respect to the several texts which narrate the institution of the holy Eucharist, the grave adduction of them by the latin divines, for the avowed purpose of *scripturally* establishing the dogma of Transubstantiation, is such a palpable begging of the question, that one cannot but marvel how the glaring paralogism should have escaped even their own attention.

The matter in debate is not what our Lord *said*, but what our Lord *meant*. We all know him to have used the words: *This is my body*, and *This is my blood*. On *that* point, there is no dispute. The

¹ See above, book i. c. 4. § I. 1. (1.) I have given the passage, *exactly* as cited by Mr. Berington (Faith of Cathol. p. 193): because my *sole* business was to lay before the reader the scriptural evidence for transubstantiation, as adduced by the latin divines *themselves*. Mr. Berington dedicates his work to *the Catholics of the United Kingdom, as a monument of the antiquity and perpetuity of their faith*. Now the Roman Catholics, as a body, are reputed to be not quite so familiarly acquainted with the forbidden fruit of Scripture, as we more daring Anglican-Catholics. Hence, for *their* benefit and information, if Mr. Berington quoted the remarkable words of Christ as recorded by St. John, he ought not, in common equity, to have suppressed Christ's own explanation of his own words.

dispute respects, not the *employment*, but the *import*, of the words. Hence, plainly, the mere adduction of words, the very *import* of which is the matter in litigation, can never establish a doctrine, which rests entirely upon a gratuitous and disputed *interpretation* of the words themselves¹.

But the words, even as they stand, so far from favouring, are absolutely fatal to, the tridentine account of the Eucharist. Whether they be understood literally or whether they be explained figuratively, they, at all events, as they themselves by their very construction testify, respect the body and blood of Christ, as *broken* or as *given*, as *shed* or as *poured out*. This, however, is incompatible with the tridentine doctrine: which assures us, that the consecrated elements are transubstantiated into the complete and living Saviour as he *now* exists; namely, into the Saviour with unbroken body and with uneffused blood eternally united to his human soul and to his essential divinity.

Nor is this the only difficulty, inherent in the

¹ In consequence of an appeal to the throne, one of our english martyrs was brought personally before that redoubtable divine King Henry of theological memory. The royal logician settled the debate with still greater rapidity than either Dr. Trevern or Mr. Berington. *Ho! fellow! doth not Christ himself say, This is my body, and This is my blood?* Doubtless he doth: but *this*, saving his grace's presence, was not precisely the point under litigation. The martyr could suffer: but he could not argue with the master of twenty legions.

words or in their immediate context. The wine, even *after* consecration and *when* (according to the Tridentine Council) its whole substance has been changed into the substance of human blood¹, our Lord *still* continues to denominate *This produce of the vine*²: and the bread, even *after* consecration and *when* (likewise according to the Tridentine Council) its whole substance has been changed into the substance of human flesh³, his Apostle Paul, in strict harmony with the language of his divine Master, *still* continues to denominate *This bread*⁴. Hence, if we may believe the plain words of Christ and of Paul rather than the decision of the Council of Trent, the bread and wine, even *after* consecration, are *still*, in point of substance, actual bread and wine.

So again: if the words, *This is my body* and *This is my blood*, must of necessity be understood literally: then, analogously, the words, *This cup is the new testament in my blood*, as the form is somewhat differently given by St. Luke, must of necessity be understood literally also. The tridentine interpretation, therefore, if consistently pursued, will finally bring out the extraordinary re-

¹ Conversionem fieri—totius substantiæ vini in substantiam sanguinis ejus.

² Τοῦτου τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου. Matt. xxvi. 29.

³ Conversionem fieri totius substantiæ panis in substantiam corporis Christi.

⁴ Τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον. 1 Corinth. xi. 26.

sult, that *The entire substance of the cup is converted into the substance of the new testament* ¹.

(3.) As the argumentative adduction of our Lord's institutive words is thus plainly nothing better than a mere begging of the question: so the citation of St. Paul's phraseology, as addressed to the Corinthians, is but another glaring specimen of this very frequent, though very unjustifiable, latin practice. Doubtless the cup of blessing is the communion of Christ's blood; and the broken bread is the communion of Christ's body: but to adduce such language, as any proof of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, is to *assume*, that St. Paul designed to employ it transubstantiatively; the very point, if I mistake not, which ought to have been *itself* anteriorly *demonstrated* ².

(4.) Two passages, the one from the Old, the other from the New, Testament, have been adduced for the purpose of shewing, that the Eucharist is a sacrifice ³.

Respecting these passages, it must be observed, that, so far as the decision of the Council of Trent is concerned, the Romanists stand pledged to demonstrate from Scripture, not that the Eucharist is a sacrifice *simply*, but that the Eucharist is a **PIACULAR** sacrifice *especially*.

¹ In tridentine latin, *mutatis mutandis*, the result will run as follows: "Conversionem fieri totius substantiæ calicis in substantiam novi fœderis.

² 1 Corinth. x. 16.

³ Malach. i. 10, 11. Heb. xiii. 10—12.

Now such demonstration has been afforded by *neither* of the passages which have been adduced.

When St. Paul tells us, that we have an altar whereof the unconverted Jews have no right to eat, he refers not to the Eucharist, except so far as the Eucharist is commemorative, but to the sacrifice of Christ *himself* without the gate upon the altar of the cross, and to our spiritual participation of the benefits of that sacrifice. The text, therefore, shews indeed, that the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross is a propitiatory sacrifice ; because it manifestly alludes to the typical propitiatory sacrifices under the Law, as being sacrifices of the same specific nature or quality : but it affords not the slightest proof, that the professedly commemorative ordinance of the Eucharist is a sacrifice of *that* description or indeed a sacrifice of *any* description. In the abstract, the eucharist may or may not be a sacrifice : but *this* text proves nothing whatsoever as to its precise nature.

With regard to the other passage adduced from Malachi, it possibly may, or it possibly may not, refer to the celebration of the Eucharist. Irenæus and Justin Martyr understand it, as bearing this reference¹ : Tertullian, on the contrary, as Mr. Berington himself allows, interprets it as relating, to the pure sacrifices of the heart, not to the establishment of *any* literal or material sacrificial oblation².

¹ See above, book i. chap. 4. § I. 2. (3.) (4.)

² *Spiritualia vero sacrificia, de quibus prædictum est : et,*

These two opinions are perfectly reconcilable : and, in truth, they mutually explain each other. The sacrifices, predicted by Malachi, are clearly the spiritual sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving. Among these, the liturgical celebration of the Eucharist, as the very name *Eucharist* implies, stands præëminent : and I am not aware, that even the most zealous antitransubstantialist would ever dream of denying to the devout celebration of the Eucharist the character of a spiritual sacrifice of thanksgiving ; though, neither from the name nor from the scriptural account of it, can he derive any evidence, in proof of the material eucharistic elements *themselves* becoming, after their consecration, either a literal sacrifice of thanksgiving or a propitiatory sacrifice both for the quick and for the dead.

Under the aspect, then, of a due celebration of the Eucharist being the *præëminent* Christian spi-

sicut supra dicit, *Non est mihi voluntas in vobis, dicit Dominus. Sacrificia non accipiam de manibus vestris : quoniam, ab oriente sole usque in occidentem, nomen meum clarificatum est in omnibus gentibus, dicit Dominus.* De spiritalibus vero sacrificiis addit, dicens : *Et in omni loco sacrificia munda offerentur nomini meo, dicit Dominus.* Tertull. adv. Jud. Oper. p. 125.

In omni loco sacrificium nomini meo offertur, et sacrificium mundum : gloriæ scilicet relatio, et benedictio, et laus, et hymni. Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. iii. § 15. Oper. p. 212.

In omni loco sacrificium nomine meo offeretur, et sacrificium mundum : scilicet simplex oratio de conscientia pura. Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. iv. § 2. Oper. p. 223.

For Mr. Berington's very creditable acknowledgment, see Faith of Cathol. p. 257.

ritual sacrifice of thanksgiving, and most clearly under no other aspect, Justin and Irenèus, as their own language most abundantly testifies, understand the passage in Malachi to relate to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper : and, accordingly, by a mere extension of the same principle of exposition, Tertullian views it as referring to *every* spiritual sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. That such is the mode, in which Justin and Irenèus apply the passage to the commemorative celebration of the Eucharist, is, indeed, palpably evident from their own express words. Justin tells us, that *prayers and thanksgivings, offered up by the worthy, are the only sacrifices acceptable to God* : and he very remarkably adds, that *Christians have been taught to offer these ALONE in the commemorative celebration of the Eucharist*¹. Irenèus supposes, that the *outward* sign or expression of this spiritual sacrifice of thanksgiving was the oblation of the bread and wine upon the table, *antecedently* to their consecration, under the aspect of a material eucharistic oblation to God of the first fruits of his creatures².

Thus, most evidently, neither of the two passages, adduced by Mr. Berington, tend in the slightest degree to shew : that the sacrament of the Eucharist is represented in Scripture, as a piacular sacrifice perpetually devoted by the priest

¹ Ταῦτα γὰρ MONA. See above, book i. chap. 4. § I. 2. (3.)

² See above, book i. chap. 4. § I. 2. (4.)

for the purpose of making an atonement both for the quick and for the dead.

2. Having now considered the texts alleged by Mr. Berington and the Bishop of Strasbourg, I may be permitted yet additionally to make an observation; though, in the making of it, I shall probably have been anticipated by the intelligent reader of Holy Scripture.

According to the tacit confession of those two divines themselves, as sufficiently exemplified in their total omission of even any *attempt* at proof from the Bible, the word of God is *wholly silent* respecting all the following very important particulars: both respecting a conversion of the entire substance of the bread and wine into the substance of the body and blood of Christ; respecting the elements being physically, by consecration, transmuted into the *entire* Christ, as consisting of flesh and blood and human soul and essential divinity; respecting each separate particle and drop of each element being severally and completely the entire Christ; respecting the payment of divine adoration to the elements when consecrated, under the aspect of such elements being, jointly and severally and dividedly, nothing less than the present Deity; and respecting the Eucharist being a real *propitiatory* sacrifice both for the quick and for the dead.

ON ALL these points, dogmatically laid down by the Council of Trent, and dutifully received by every honest Romanist as *undoubted articles of faith*, we

have a tacit acknowledgment, an acknowledgment, however, which speaks volumes, that *the Bible itself is profoundly silent*.

Let the points, in the abstract, be true ; or let them be false : from whatever quarter they may have been learned by the tridentine theologians, assuredly and confessedly they have *not* been learned from *Scripture*.

3. It may not be altogether useless to state, that, in the *substance* at least of the preceding remark, no member of a Reformed Church can claim the praise of novel originality : the most able of the latin divines have *themselves* freely advanced the self-same ominous observation.

The great schoolmen Johannes Scotus, Biel, Occam, Peter ab Alliaco Cardinal Archbishop of Cambray, Cardinal Cajetan, and Cardinal Fisher Bishop of Rochester, have all fairly confessed : that *The doctrine of Transubstantiation is incapable of proof from Scripture ; that The doctrine of the substantial remanence of the bread and wine is less repugnant to Scripture, than the doctrine of their substantial conversion into the body and blood of Christ ; and, consequently, that The doctrine of Transubstantiation cannot be demonstrated from the institutive words of Christ, unless to such words the authoritative declaration of the Roman Church be superadded*¹.

¹ Non exstat locus ullus Scripturæ tam expressus, ut, sine Ecclesiæ declaratione, evidenter cogat Transubstantiationem admittere. Johan. Scot. in 4 sent. dist. xi. q. 3.

With these divines, Cardinal Bellarmine, at least *nearly*, agrees: for he says, that, although he thinks he can *scripturally* prove the doctrine to a not refractory person like himself; yet it may well be doubted, whether any such proof can *really* be accomplished, since men the most learned and acute, among whom Scotus stands out preëminent, are of a contrary opinion ¹.

Neutiquam invenitur in Canone Bibliorum. Biel. in Can. Miss. lect. 40.

Substantiam panis manere, rationabilius et facilius est ad tenendum: imo minoribus incommodis obnoxium est; et Sacris Scripturis minus repugnat. Occam. Centil. lib. iv. q. 6. et in 4 sent. dist. xi. q. 6.

Transubstantiatio non potest probari ex Sacris Literis. Petr. ab All. Camerac. in 4 sent. dist. xi. q. 6. art. 1, 2.

Non apparet ex Evangelio coactivum aliquod ad intelligendum hæc verba proprie, nempe, *Hoc est corpus meum*:—imo præsentia illa in sacramento, quam tenet Ecclesia, ex his verbis Christi non potest demonstrari, nisi etiam accesserit Ecclesiæ declaratio. Cajet. in Th. p. 3. q. lxxv. art. 1. Ibid. q. xlv. art. 14.

Nullum in Scriptura verbum positum est, quo probetur in Missa hanc substantiæ transmutationem fieri. Fish. Roffens. Lib. cont. Luther. de capt. Babylon. c. 1.

For these citations I am indebted to Bishop Cosin. See Cosin. Hist. Transub. Papal. c. v. § III. p. 54, 55. It might seem, from the judgment of these great latin divines, that Dr. Trevern and Mr. Berington have grievously wasted their valuable time in their confessedly bootless attempt to establish Transubstantiation from the Bible. *Wherever* that doctrine is to be found, at all events it is quite lost labour to seek it in *God's written word*. So, at least, we are assured by no fewer than six grave roman theologians.

¹ Quamvis Scripturam adduxerim, quæ mihi satis clara ad

On such remarkable concessions, not indeed remarkable in themselves, but certainly remarkable in regard to the quarter whence they come, our own Bishop Cosin well observes: that *Protestants ask nothing more, than a permission to agree in sentiment with these most learned and most acute men of the Roman Communion*¹.

IV. Quitting Scripture, then, in despair, whence confessedly the doctrine of Transubstantiation is incapable of being demonstrated; we now come to the evidence, adduced from the Fathers of the three first centuries for the purpose of establishing the alleged FACT: that *The primitive Church, from the very beginning, entertained the self-same opinions respecting the Eucharist, as those which by the Council of Trent have since been authoritatively promulgated*².

In perusing this evidence, the cautious inquirer

probendam Transubstantiationem videatur homini non protervo: tamen, an ita sit, merito dubitari potest, quum homines doctissimi atque acutissimi, qualis cum primis Scotus fuit, contrarium sentiant. Bellarm. de Euchar. lib. iii. c. 23. apud Cosin. Ibid. p. 55.

¹ Cosin. Ibid. p. 55.

² I do not mean to say, that Dr. Trevern and Mr. Berington have pledged themselves, *totidem verbis*, to establish this alleged fact: but I conclude, that such *must* be their purpose; for, otherwise, they do nothing. If, however, they wish to avoid making themselves responsible for any particular portions of the tridentine definition; they have my full consent: only, in *that* case, they of course give up the doctrinal infallibility of Ecumenical Councils ratified by the Pope.

is immediately struck with the circumstance, that, respecting the following points, the witnesses adduced are completely silent: both respecting any conversion of the entire substance of the elements, jointly and severally, into the entire living Christ, viewed under the aspect of the essential Deity and a human soul united to material flesh and blood; respecting any conversion of each separate particle and each separate drop of the elements into the entire Christ; and respecting any adoration paid to the elements after consecration, on the avowed ground, that those elements, jointly and severally, unitedly and distributedly, have now become the Supreme Being himself. These various matters are, indeed, defined by the Council of Trent, with abundant distinctness. But we read nothing of them, either in Scripture, or in the writings of the primitive Church: and the Tridentine Synod, when unsupported by the voice of Antiquity biblical and ecclesiastical, comes too late, even though papally ratified, by about some fifteen centuries.

The early Fathers, then, being altogether silent respecting *such* matters, we have merely to examine, according to the evidence produced by Mr. Berington and the Bishop of Strasbourg: whether the witnesses of the three first centuries will vouch for the *simple* doctrine of Transubstantiation as less curiously laid down in the year 1215 by the fourth Council of Lateran, that is to say, for the doctrine of the *simple* conversion of the

substance of the elements into the substance of the body and blood of Christ; and whether they will yet additionally vouch for the doctrine, that the sacrament of the Eucharist is a propitiatory sacrifice daily offered up by the priest both for the quick and for the dead.

1. That the witnesses of the three first centuries, cited by Dr. Trevern and Mr. Berington, repeatedly assert the consecrated bread and wine to be the body and blood of Christ, is undeniable: but, in using such language, they, in truth, say nothing more than what Christ himself had said before them.

To bring forward, therefore, specimens of such phraseology, by way of demonstrating the transubstantialisation of the primitive Church, is precisely the same begging of the question, as the adduction of Christ's own words for the same purpose.

What the Romish doctors *ought* to have shewn, would they argue at all relevantly, is not what the early Fathers *say*, but what the early Fathers *mean*: and it is obvious, that the bare production of their *unexplained* phraseology can never substantiate the alleged FACT; that *The primitive Church, from the very beginning, held the doctrine of Transubstantiation.*

Like the language of our Lord himself, which language in reality they simply adopt, their language, in the abstract, may be understood either literally or figuratively: and, before it was ad-

duced in evidence, Dr. Trevern and Mr. Berington ought to have demonstrated, through the medium of some distinct proof, that it *cannot* be understood figuratively, and that it *must* be understood literally. This, however, they have *not* done: and, even if they *had* effected it, still they would not have established the point to be established. If we suppose it proved, that the language of the early writers ought doubtless to be understood literally: it will still, so far as that language is concerned, remain uncertain, whether they inculcate the genuine doctrine of Transubstantiation, or whether they content themselves with asserting the now reputed semi-heretical doctrine of Consubstantiation. Hence, after adducing the passages before us, our two latin divines, for the purpose of making them *really* effective, ought to have gone on to demonstrate: first, that they are to be understood, not figuratively, but literally; and, secondly, that they teach, not the doctrine of Consubstantiation, but the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

(1.) It appears to me, that the only two passages, which, even in the slightest degree, can be deemed available to the latin advocates, are the first-cited passage from Ignatius and the first-cited passage from Justin Martyr¹.

Ignatius states, that the Docetæ abstained from the Eucharist, because they confessed not that it is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

¹ See above, book i. chap. 4. § I. 2. (2.) (3.)

Hence, I suppose, it is argued: that, since they abstained from the Eucharist on this avowed ground, which was the necessary result of their fantastical theology; it must have been the doctrine of the primitive Church, that the consecrated bread and wine are literally the body and blood of the Redeemer.

But, if this be the argument intended to be built upon the passage (and I am unable to guess what other *can* be intended¹): nothing can be more weak and inconclusive. Whether the words of consecration be understood literally or figuratively, the principles of the Docetæ would, in either case, equally lead to the same line of conduct. If these early speculatists denied the actual existence of Christ's body and blood; which was the strange notion they had adopted: it were, in *them*, plainly *alike* absurd to partake of the Eucharist; whether it was proposed to them, as being literally the identical substance of which they denied the existence; or whether it was held forth to them, as being only the symbolical representation of that same controverted substance. In *either* case, a participation of the Eucharist would have been a practical abandonment of their avowed sentiments. The passage, therefore, is

¹ The Bishop and Mr. Berington content themselves with simply citing the passage: they do not teach us, *how* we are to learn from it the doctrine of Transubstantiation. I am reduced, therefore, to the necessity of *conjecturing*, what may possibly have been their tacitly intended line of argument.

quite unavailing as to any establishment of the alleged FACT, that *the primitive Church held the doctrine of Transubstantiation*¹.

Justin, on a hasty inspection of his phraseology, might seem to intimate: that, as Christ himself was, at his incarnation, literally made flesh and blood; so, in the Eucharist, we literally partake of that identical flesh and blood which Christ assumed.

But hasty indeed must be the perusal, which brings out such a result.

When attentively considered, the whole drift of the passage shews, that no antithetical comparison, favourable to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, was ever intended. Justin merely states: that, as *the incarnation of Christ* is an undoubted scriptural doctrine; so likewise it is an equally scriptural doctrine, that *the consecrated elements are the flesh and blood of Christ*. The comparison lies, between the two facts of two equally certain revelations, not between two equally literal interpretations of two verbally revealed doctrines.

¹ It is worthy of note, that exactly the same line of argument is adopted by Tertullian against Marcion and his phantasiastic brethren, at the very time when Tertullian himself is stating that the bread is a figure or primevally received allegorical form of Christ's body. Clearly, the argument, in the mouth of Ignatius or Tertullian, is *equally* cogent against the Docetæ; whether we admit or reject the doctrine of Transubstantiation. See above, book i. chap. 4. § I. 2. (5.)

Justin's expression, *We have been taught*¹, refers us at once to the institutive words of Christ : and, that *he* did not understand those words according to the explication of the Council of Trent, is abundantly plain from his own language. The Tridentine Fathers, as they are very properly understood by Mr. Berington and his brethren, determine : that *The body and blood of Christ, as existing transubstantiatively in the Eucharist, are not exposed to the external senses* NOR OBNOXIOUS TO CORPORAL CONTINGENCES². Hence, of course, though eaten and drunk in the holy sacrament, they are never digested, never contribute to the gross material nourishment of the human frame, never pass away after the mode in which all other food passes away. But, if we may believe Justin, the doctrine of the primitive Church was the very reverse. He tells us : that, although (agreeably to the Lord's own teaching) the consecrated elements are the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh ; yet, nevertheless, from them OUR

¹ Gr. ἐδιδάχθημεν.

² Faith of Cathol. p. 244. Mr. Berington, I suppose, builds his statement of the doctrine, that *the elements, when transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ, are NOT OBNOXIOUS TO CORPORAL CONTINGENCES*, upon the following decision of the Tridentine Council.

Et hæc quidem illa munda oblatio est ; quæ, nulla indignitate aut malitia offerentium, inquinari potest. Concil. Trident. sess. xxii. c. 1. p. 238.

In his inference, Mr. Berington strikes me as being perfectly correct.

FLESH AND BLOOD ARE THROUGH MUTATION NOURISHED¹. According, therefore, to Justin, it was the received doctrine of the primitive Church : that *The physical reception of the consecrated elements contributed, like the reception of any other food, to the animal nourishment of our bodies, through the agency of that chemical mutation which every species of food in the process of digestion alike experiences.*

The testimony of Justin, to this effect, is fully borne out by the testimony of Irenæus : for, though he rightly, after the example of his divine Master, denominates the consecrated elements *the body and blood of Christ* ; he asserts, that, by these identical consecrated elements, our material bodies are undoubtedly nourished².

Justin's testimony is also corroborated by the testimony of Tertullian : for, while he states that our souls are nourished from God through the pious reception of the holy Eucharist ; he asserts, that our flesh is fed with the body and blood of Christ³.

I need scarcely to say, that such doctrine is

¹ Ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες ΚΑΤΑ ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗΝ τρέφονται ἡμῶν. Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 77.

² Fit Eucharistia sanguinis et corporis Christi, ex quibus augetur et consistit carnis nostræ substantia—Carnem,—quæ sanguine et corpore Christi nutritur. Iren. ut supra, book i. chap. 4. § 1. 2. (4.)

³ Caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur, Tertull. ut supra, book. i. chap. 4. § I. 2. (5.)

wholly incompatible with the modern latin doctrine of Transubstantiation ; a very important part of which is, that *The transubstantiated elements are not obnoxious to corporal contingences* : and yet, even in the passages adduced by Dr. Trevern and Mr. Berington themselves, such doctrine is unreservedly avowed ; nor does it appear, that the primitive Church ever disowned or condemned it. Hence, from the very testimony which our two divines themselves have freely selected, it is evident : that *The primitive Church could never have held the doctrine of Transubstantiation.*

Justin, indeed, like his contemporary Irenèus and his successor Cyril of Jerusalem, denies, that, after consecration, the eucharistic bread and wine are any longer common bread and common drink¹ : but he speaks, as the explanatory voice of antiquity fully teaches us, of their moral or sacramental change from a secular application to a

¹ Οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα. Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 76. Jam non communis panis est. Iren. adv. hæres. lib. iv. c. 34. p. 264. Μὴ πρόσσεχε οὖν ὡς ψιλοῖς τῷ ἄρτῳ καὶ τῷ οἴνῳ Cyril. Hieros. Catech. Mystag. iv. p. 237. Paris. 1631. In point of ideality, the κοινός of Justin and the communis of Irenèus (evidently, in the lost greek original, κοινός also) are, I apprehend, not quite the same as the ψιλοῖς of Cyril. The common bread is unconsecrated or secular bread : the mere bread is the bread without (what Ephrem calls) the spiritual grace superadded to it. Τῆς νοητῆς ἀδιαίρετον μένει χάριτος. Ephrem. Theopol. apud Phot. Bibl. cod. 229. p. 794. Rothomag. 1653.

holy purpose, not of their physical or material change from mere bread and wine into Christ's literal body and blood ¹. Irenæus himself explains the matter, by telling us: that *The consecrated bread ceases to be common bread, because the Eucharist consists of two things, an earthly thing and a heavenly thing: the earthly thing, bread from the earth; the heavenly thing, Christ spiritually present* ².

(2.) Tertullian, as we have seen, directly contradicts the modern doctrine of Transubstantiation, by asserting: that *our flesh is fed by the body and blood of Christ*.

I need, therefore, only yet additionally to observe: that he equally and even explicitly contradicts it in the two first of the passages, which have been cited from him, by Mr. Berington, with a somewhat whimsical sort of fairness, though with a fairness which does great credit to that respectable theologian's moral honesty ³. Tertullian asserts, that, in the language of the old prophets no less than in the language of the Gospel, bread was employed as a figure or symbolical material form of Christ's body: and he remarks,

¹ See Cyril, Hieros. Catech. Mystag. iii. p. 235. Tractat. de Sacram. lib. iv. c. 4. in Oper. Ambros. col. 1248. Ambros. de iis qui myster. initiant. c. ix. Oper. col. 1235—1237. Gregor. Nyssen. de Baptism. Christ. Oper. vol. ii. p. 801, 802. as cited at large below, book ii. chap. 4. § VII.

² See above, book i. chap. 4. § I. 2. (4.)

³ See above, book i. chap. 4. § I. 2. (5.)

that, as Christ rejected not the element of water in Baptism; so neither did he reject the bread in the Eucharist, by which he represents his own body.

We shall hereafter find, that Tertullian preserves his consistency throughout, in teaching: that the bread and wine experience no material change of substance; and that they are to be viewed as symbols of Christ's body and blood ¹.

(3.) Alike infelicitous, so far as respects evidence, is Mr. Berington in his last citation from Cyprian: a citation, however, which fully develops the real sentiments of that Father ².

According to Cyprian, the bread composed of many united grains, and the wine composed of many united drops, signify Christ the head and his people the members united in one mystical body.

Hence, if he held any such doctrine as Transubstantiation, he must have believed; a matter, too palpably absurd to be insisted upon even by the most zealous Romanist: that the consecrated bread and wine are transubstantiated into the mystical body, which is jointly composed of Christ and all his faithful people.

2. It now only remains to inquire, whether the witnesses of the three first ages are prepared to vouch for the doctrine: that *The Sacrament of*

¹ See below, book ii. chap. 4. § II. 2. I. 7. III. 1.

² See above, book i. chap. 4. § I. 2. (8.)

the Eucharist is a propitiatory sacrifice both for the quick and for the dead.

To prove, that the Eucharist was ever, by the primitive Christians, offered up, as a piacular sacrifice to make atonement either for the living or for the departed, no evidence has been adduced from the Fathers of the three first centuries : and, so far as I am acquainted with their writings, no such evidence exists.

The passages, which have been brought forward from Tertullian and Cyprian, speak, no doubt, of certain oblations or sacrifices having been offered up, in the early Church, for the pious dead in the Lord : and I have no wish to deny, that the oblations, to which those passages allude, are, at least principally, if not exclusively, to be sought in the primitive form of celebrating the Eucharist¹. But, as not a syllable is said respecting the oblations being of a piacular nature : so the very notion, that such is their character, is directly contrary to the ideas, which the ancients associated with the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

(1.) In regard to *the substance of the sacrament itself*, by which I mean *the bread and wine* POSTERIOR to their consecration, we have no evidence, so far as I am aware, that, under *any* aspect, the *strictly* primitive Christians ever deemed it a sacrifice. On *this* point, the testimony of the early Church is decidedly fatal to the modern

¹ See above, book i. chap. 4. § I. 2. (10.)

doctrine of Romanism, as finally settled by the Fathers of the Tridentine Council.

Justin speaks of sacrifices (his expression is plural¹) being offered in the Eucharist of the bread and the cup; and Irenæus intimates, that Christ, in the institution of the Eucharist, taught the new oblation of the New Testament: but they tell us not, that the consecrated elements *themselves* are a sacrifice. So far as a *material* oblation was concerned, the primitive Church deemed such oblation to be, not *the elements* AFTER consecration, but *the bread and wine when first offered up at the altar* BEFORE consecration as eucharistic sacrificial gifts to the Supreme Giver of all benefits.

That such is an accurate view of the matter, is put out of all doubt by the consecration prayer of the oldest Liturgy extant: that, which bears the name of the Clementine Liturgy, and which is allowed to be at least as early as the third century.

We offer unto thee the King and the Deity, according to Christ's appointment, this bread and this cup, giving thanks to thee through him, inasmuch as thou hast deigned that we should stand before thee and sacrifice to thee. And we beseech thee, that thou wouldest graciously look upon these gifts which lie before thee, thou the God who needest nothing; and that thou wouldest have pleasure in them to the honour of thy Christ; and that thou wouldest send

¹ Gr. θυσιας.

*thy Holy Spirit upon this sacrifice, the witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ, in order that he may shew forth this bread as the body of thy Christ and this cup as the blood of thy Christ*¹.

In the prayer now under consideration, the priest supplicates, that God would send his Holy Spirit upon the elements *in order that* he may shew them forth as Christ's body and blood. Consequently, *before* this supplication, the elements had *not* been shewn forth as the body and blood of Christ. Yet, *before* this supplication, and thence *before* the accomplished consecration of the elements, these identical elements, in their unconsecrated state, had been professedly offered up to God under the well defined aspect of an eucharistic oblation or a sacrifice of thanksgiving. Therefore, the early Church viewed the bread and wine, as gifts or oblations to God, not *posterior*, but *anterior*, to their consecration.

This primitive testimony, at once, teaches us what the first Christians understood to be the ma-

¹ Προσφερόμέν σοι τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ Θεῷ, κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ δίαταξιν, τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο, εὐχαριστοῦντές σοι δι' αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' οἷς κατηξίωσας ἡμᾶς ἐστάναι ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἱερεύειν σοι· καὶ ἀξιῶμέν σε, ὅπως εὐμενῶς ἐπιβλέψῃς ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα ἐνώπιόν σου, σὺ ὁ ἀνευδεὴς Θεός· καὶ εὐδοκήσῃς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· καὶ καταπέμψῃς τὸ ἅγιόν σου Πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην, τὸν μαρτύρα τῶν παθημάτων τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, ὅπως ἀποφύγῃ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου. Clement. Liturg. in constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. 12. Cotel. Patr. Apost. vol. i. p. 407.

terial oblation in the Eucharist, and stamps the brand of novelty upon the opinion that the consecrated elements themselves are a sacrifice of *any* description¹. It likewise shews us, agreeably (as I have already observed) to the very import of the word *Eucharist*, and in perfect harmony with the testimony of Irenèus, that the bread and wine, when offered at the altar *in order to* consecration, were, *antecedently* to such consecration, viewed as being strictly a sacrifice of thanksgiving from the first-fruits of God's creatures: an opinion, which effectually destroys the whole modern idea of an expiatory or piacular sacrifice. The very phraseology, indeed, both of the Clementine Prayer and of Irenèus, distinctly shews, that the bread and wine were deemed eucharistic oblations *only* while unconsecrated: at least (what is quite enough for *my* purpose), it effectually shews it, on his own avowed principles, to the modern advocate of Transubstantiation. In the Clementine Prayer, the oblations are described as gifts from among his creatures to God, who himself has no need of such oblations: and, in the passages cited from Irenèus, they are similarly represented as the mere

¹ For an account of the extension of the notion of *a sacrifice*, at a *later* period (apparently, about the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century), to the *consecrated* elements, under the aspect of their being *an unbloody commemorative and symbolical sacrifice shadowing out and representing the bloody actual and literal sacrifice of Christ upon the cross*, see below, book ii. chap. 4. § V.

first-fruits of God's creatures, offered to him, not as if he wanted any thing, but only that the offerers might be neither unfruitful nor ungrateful. Such language, respecting the material oblations offered up in the course of celebrating the Eucharist, is strictly appropriate and decorous, if those material oblations are the *unconsecrated* bread and wine : but it is most strangely and most disparagingly inappropriate and indecorous, if it relate to the *consecrated* elements, *now*, according to the theory of the Romanists, actually become *the literal body and blood and soul and divinity of the incarnate second person of the Trinity*.

Thus, from positive evidence, does it distinctly appear, that the *material* eucharistic oblations of the primitive Church were simply the *unconsecrated* bread and wine, presented upon the altar, at the commencement of the ceremony, under the aspect of *mere gifts or sacrifices of thanksgiving* : nor have we the slightest testimony, that the elements, *after* consecration, were ever, by the *earliest* Christians or the Christians before the latter end of the third century, viewed as sacrifices of *any* description, either eucharistic or piacular.

(2.) Such then, in the judgment of the primitive Church, were the material oblations offered up in the course of duly celebrating the Eucharist.

Now, that the *unconsecrated*, and therefore (in latin phrase) the *untransubstantiated*, bread and wine can ever, in *any* sense, have been offered up for and on behalf of the pious dead, no Romanist

will pretend : because such a notion would plainly be quite alien from, and hostile to, the tridentine doctrine ; that, *In the sacrifice of the Mass, the literal Christ himself is literally and substantially devoted, by the officiating priest, as a propitiatory oblation for the sins both of the quick and of the dead.* It remains, therefore, to inquire, what those oblations and sacrifices for the departed can have been, which Tertullian and Cyprian most undoubtedly assure us were offered up by Christians at the close of the second and in the middle of the third century ¹.

That such oblations for the dead could not have been the material oblations of *unconsecrated* bread and wine, is evident to common sense, and will readily be admitted by the tridentising Romanist : that they were oblations connected with the ritual of the Eucharist, whether *inseparably* thus connected or not, is so probable as to be well nigh indisputable. At least, *I myself* have not the slightest wish to dispute this connection : for I am quite satisfied, that, in those early times, oblations or sacrifices for the dead regularly accompanied the liturgical celebration of the Eucharist.

¹ Very probably they might have been offered earlier : but, so far as I am aware, we have no *evidence* to that effect. Clement of Rome speaks, indeed, of *oblations* : but he speaks of them without specifying, whether he meant *the material eucharistic oblations of the hitherto unconsecrated bread and wine* or *the immaterial eucharistic oblations for the dead mentioned by Tertullian and Cyprian.* See above, book i. chap. 4. § I. 2. (1.)

In the present account, then, of such oblations, negative and positive, what shall we pronounce to have been their true nature ?

To modern protestant ears, unaccustomed to ancient phraseology, *oblations for the dead* will convey a sound not a little ominous and startling : yet, without the least approximation to Tridentine Popery, each devout member of the reformed Anglican Church unites with the officiating priest, *in these identical oblations for the dead*, every time that he joins in the celebration of the holy Eucharist ; nay more, there are places of worship in which he thus unites with the priest every Lord's day, even when the Eucharist is *not* celebrated.

Justin, as we have seen, while speaking of that venerable institution, tells us ; that *prayers and thanksgivings are the only sacrifices acceptable to God* : and he adds ; that *Christians have been taught to offer these ALONE in the commemorative sacrament of the Eucharist*¹. In a similar manner, as we have also seen, Tertullian assures us : that *the clean sacrifices, which are predicted by Malachi and which Justin and Irenæus deem allusive to the Eucharist,*

¹ Ταῦρα γὰρ ΜΟΝΑ. See above, book i. chap. 4. § I. 2. (3.) Justin's ALONE, however, must not be so rigidly understood as to exclude the material eucharistic oblations of unconsecrated bread and wine : it imports only, that spiritual sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving were so *preëminently* the sacrifices of devout Christians, that they might well in common parlance be spoken of *exclusively*.

*are the spiritual sacrifices of glorification and blessing and prayer and thanksgiving*¹.

From such evidence, we cannot doubt, I think, that the oblations, offered by the primitive Christians for the pious dead, were simply *thanksgivings or eucharistic actions to God for their happy departure from the miseries of this sinful and troublesome world*. These oblations of thanksgiving and benediction were, indeed, sometimes associated, at least in the time of Tertullian, with absolute and direct prayer for the advantage of their souls; though the eucharistic oblations themselves were *distinct* from the direct prayer: but then, as Tertullian duly informs us, the prayer was put up, *not* for any deliverance out of a fancied purgatory, but *only* that they might be refreshed by partaking of the first resurrection, instead of waiting for the second²; a notion plainly taken up from an uncertain and gratuitous exposition of an obscure passage in the Apocalypse³.

Accordingly, if we again turn to the ancient Clementine Prayer of consecration, we shall find, in matter of fact, that the precise spiritual sacrifices of benediction and thanksgiving and supplication, mentioned by Justin as the *ONLY* sacrifices of the primitive Church, were duly offered up both for the living and for the dead: supplication for the living, that they might receive the Spirit to all

¹ See above, book i. chap. 4. § III. 1. (3.)

² See above, book i. chap. 4. § I. 2. (10.)

³ Rev. xx. 4—6.

holiness of conversation ; thanksgiving and benediction for all the dead saints, whether patriarchs or prophets or apostles or martyrs or confessors or clerks or just men of whatsoever description, who in every age have been pleasing to God, and whose names he has deigned to recognise ¹.

¹ "Ἐτι δεόμεθά σου, Κύριε, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγίας σου ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων—καὶ ὑπὲρ πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ὀρθοτομούσης τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας. "Ἐτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς τοῦ προσφέροντός σοι οὐδενίας, καὶ ὑπὲρ παντός τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, ὑπὲρ τῶν διακόνων, καὶ παντός τοῦ κλήρου—
"Ἐτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε, Κύριε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ, καὶ παντός τοῦ στρατοπέδου—

"Ἐτι προσφερόμεν σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐαρεστησάντων σοι ἀγίων, πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, δικαίων, ἀποστόλων, μαρτύρων, ὁμολογητῶν, ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων, ὑποδιακόνων, ἀναγνωστῶν, ψαλτῶν, παρθένων, χηρῶν, λαϊκῶν, καὶ πάντων ὧν αὐτὸς ἐπίστασαι τὰ ὀνόματα. Clem. Liturg. in Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. 12. Cotel. Patr. Apost. vol. i. p. 407, 408.

That these oblations for the pious dead could only have been oblations of thanksgiving to God for their holy lives upon earth and for their happy removal to heaven, is fully established by the circumstance, that, shortly afterward, in the self-same prayer, the self-same oblations are made for *fine weather*, and for *abundant crops* : and no Romanist, I presume, will venture to assert, that, for *such* objects, the supposed propitiatory sacrifice of Christ in the Eucharist could ever have been offered up in the primitive Church Catholic.

"Ἐτι προσφερόμεν σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐκρασίας τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ τῆς εὐφορίας τῶν καρπῶν· ὅπως, ἀναλλειπῶς μεταλαμβάνοντες τῶν παρὰ σοῦ ἀγαθῶν, αἰνῶμεν σε ἀπαύστως τὸν διδόντα τροφήν πάση σαρκί. Ibid. p. 408.

We may observe, that the oblation is here strictly defined to be *an oblation of praise and thanksgiving*. But it is the same

These pious oblations for the pious dead are still, as I have already hinted, after the example of primitive antiquity, offered up by the truly apostolic Church of England, whenever she celebrates the spiritual sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving in the blessed Eucharist, or whenever without administration of the Lord's Supper her ministers use the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth.

We also bless thy holy name for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear; beseeching thee to give us grace so to follow their examples, that with them we may be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom.

In the primitive Church, these eucharistic oblations for the pious dead were offered up, not only generally and anonymously, but particularly and specifically. When a christian brother was delivered out of the miseries of this sinful world, thanksgivings were offered up, even by name, for what was variously and beautifully called, either *his birth-day into eternal life*, or *his sleep in Christ Jesus*. But still higher honours were reserved for those glorious martyrs, who had resisted even unto

oblation, without any variation of phraseology, ἔτι προσφέρομεν and ἔτι προσφέρομεν, as that, which is *equally* offered up for the pious dead from the very beginning of the world. The primitive oblation for the pious dead, therefore, was not the fancied propitiatory sacrifice of the Mass which rests upon the unproved doctrine of Transubstantiation, but simply an oblation of praise and thanksgiving to God for all his mercies shewn toward them.

blood. The Church, of which they had been members, annually commemorated their martyrdom : and, as an incitement to the survivors, special oblations of thanksgiving were offered up to Almighty God for the steadfastness of their testimony and for their triumphant entrance into bliss everlasting.

This very simple account of primitive worship will readily explain those passages from Tertullian and Cyprian, which have been preposterously adduced for the purpose of shewing : that *The early Church deemed the transubstantiated elements a true propitiatory sacrifice both for the quick and for the dead.*

As Christians returned thanks to God for the release of their pious departed friends : so, if, in life, a person, like Victor, proudly and deliberately contravened the reasonable ordinances of the Church ; no oblation of thanksgiving for his happy dormition was, in that case, publicly offered up in his name and on his behalf¹. It was thought inconsistent to thank God for the allegorical birthday of one, who had acted with resolute impropriety, and who till death (as the very nature of his testament evinced) persisted in his misconduct².

¹ See above, book i. chap. 4. § I. 2. (10.)

² According to the romish view of the primitive oblation for the dead, the holy Cyprian will of necessity appear in the horrid and disgusting character of a furious and unrelenting ecclesiastical tyrant, who imperiously refused the benefits of Christ's

V. The Council of Trent, be it observed, not only defines the doctrine of Transubstantiation, with all its concomitants, nakedly and abstractedly: but it likewise asserts, complexly and concretely, that the doctrine of Transubstantiation, *as thus defined*, was ALWAYS the faith of the Church of God from the very beginning¹.

We have seen the evidence, scriptural and ecclesiastical, which has been produced for the purpose of substantiating this very extraordinary asseveration: and the cautious inquirer will judge for himself, whether, even by evidence freely selected by the very advocates of tridentine Romanism (evidence, *as yet* not met by a syllable of distinct counter-evidence), the asseveration has been substantiated.

Now, to say nothing of the second Nicene Council, which leaves it doubtful, whether Consubstantiation or Transubstantiation was, in the eighth century, to be received as the true faith; and to say nothing of the fourth Council of Lateran, which, to the Church of the thirteenth century,

propitiatory sacrifice in the Mass to an unfortunate deceased individual, for no better reason, than because, contrary to a then existing church-regulation, that individual had, in his last will and testament, nominated a clergyman to be the guardian of his children! Whatever may have been the spirit of the domineering Latin Church in subsequent ages, such, I suspect, was not the spirit of Cyprian and the African Church in the middle of the third century.

¹ Concil. Trident. sess. xiii. c. 1. p. 122. c. 3. p. 124. c. 5. p. 125. sess. xxii. c. 2. p. 239, 240.

leaves wholly undefined various points, minutely determined by the modern Council of Trent some fifteen hundred years and more after the christian era : what shall we think of the honest confession of an eminent Romanist, who was actually writing that identical confession, at the very time while the Tridentine Fathers were roundly declaring that *their* precise definition had been the *unvarying* faith of the Catholic Church in ALL ages¹ ?

Before Innocent III. who presided in the Lateran Council, says Bishop Tunstall of Durham, it seemed to the more curious inquirer, that the presence of Christ in the Eucharist might take place after three several modes. Some thought, that the body of Christ was present together with the bread or in the bread, like fire in a heated mass of iron : which mode Luther seems to have followed. Others thought, that the bread was annihilated or corrupted. Others, again, thought, that the substance of the bread was transmuted into the substance of the body of Christ. This last mode Innocent adopted : and thence, in that Council, rejected the other modes. But, whether it were more expedient to leave each curious person to his own conjecture in

¹ In the year 1551, the Tridentine Fathers, during their thirteenth session, were displaying their remarkable intimacy with ancient ecclesiastical history by magnanimously propounding this identical declaration : in the year 1554, Bishop Tunstall's Work on the true body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist was *printed* at Paris under the superintendance of his celebrated nephew Bernard Gilpin. Hence Tunstall must have been *writing* the Work much about the year 1551.

regard to the mode of Christ's bodily presence ; as the question, previous to that Council, was left free, provided a person confessed the true existence of the body and blood of the Lord in the Eucharist, which was the faith of the Church from the beginning : or whether, perhaps, it were better, out of the three above specified modes, to select that one which most quadrated with the words of Christ, and to reject the other modes, lest otherwise among the too curious men of that age there should be no end of contention, since in that disputative age silence could in no other way be imposed upon curious tongues : I deem it just, since the Church is the column of the truth, that, concerning a matter of this nature, its decision should altogether be firmly observed¹.

¹ Ante Innocentium tertium Romanum Episcopum, qui in Lateranensi Concilio præsedet, tribus modis id (scil. Christi præsentia in Eucharistia) posse fieri curiosius scrutantibus visum est : aliis existimantibus, una cum pane, vel in pane, Christi corpus adesse, veluti ignem in ferri massa, quem modum Lutherus secutus videtur : aliis, panem in nihilum redigi vel corrupti ; aliis, substantiam panis transmutari in substantiam corporis Christi : quem modum secutus Innocentius reliquos modos in eo Concilio rejecit. An vero potius, de modo quo id fieret, curiosum quemque relinquere suæ conjecturæ, sicut liberum fuit ante illud Concilium, modo veritatem corporis et sanguinis Domini in Eucharistia esse fateretur ; quæ fuit ab initio ipsa Ecclesiæ fides : an fortasse melius, de tribus illis modis supra memoratis, illam unam eligere quæ cum verbis Christi maxime quadraret, et cæteros modos abjicere, ne alioqui inter nimis curiosos illius ætatis homines finis contentionum non fuisset, quando contentioso illo sæculo linguis curiosis silen-

Bishop Tunstall states, we see, as a notorious and indisputable FACT : that, anterior to the fourth Lateran Council in the year 1215, so far from there being, among the faithful, any such complete unanimity of opinion, in regard to the mode of Christ's literal presence in the Eucharist, as the Tridentine Fathers have intrepidly asserted ; there actually existed, without any imputation on the orthodoxy of their several wrangling advocates, no fewer than THREE several opinions respecting that identical question. A man might be orthodox, who derided Transubstantiation, while he held Consubstantiation : a man might be orthodox, who derided both Transubstantiation and Consubstantiation, provided only that he insisted upon the total Annihilation of the elements with the Substitution of Christ's body and blood in their place : and a man might be equally orthodox, who, rejecting each of these two speculations, maintained the absolute Conversion of the whole substance of the elements into the substance of Christ's body and blood.

The fourth Council of Lateran, under the happy-auspices of Pope Innocent, defined the *last* of these three forms of once equally acknowledged orthodoxy to be thenceforth, that is to say, from the era of the eventful year 1215, EXCLUSIVELY

tium imponi alio modo non potuit : justum existimo, ut de re ejusmodi, quia Ecclesia columna est veritatis, firmum ejus omnino observetur judicium. Tunstall. Dunelm. de ver. corp. et sang. Domin. in Euchar. p. 46. Lutet. Paris. 1554.

orthodox ; thus suddenly transmitting two forms of anciently admitted orthodoxy into two modifications of convicted and pestilent heresy.

But, on the principles, so stoutly maintained as his special boast by every good Romanist, and so absolutely laid down by the infallible Tridentine Fathers ; that *Councils advance nothing new, but decide only as to what doctrines they have invariably received through the unbroken channel of their predecessors from the very beginning* : on these principles, I am at a loss to comprehend, how Pope Innocent and his Council could come to *any* valid and legitimate decision : for, instead of receiving the EXCLUSIVE inculcation of *one* mode only from the beginning, all *other* modes being INVARIABLY deemed heretical ; they *confessedly* received, as good Bishop Tunstall witnesses, no fewer than *three* modes, the holding of *any one* of which was, anterior to the year 1215, perfectly compatible with orthodoxy and therefore perfectly free from the stain of heresy.

Clearly, then, they must have decided between the three modes, nakedly and abstractedly and dogmatically, not complexly and traditionally and evidentially : for, by tradition from their predecessors, *all the three* came down to them under the pleasing aspect of being *equally* free from heretical insincerity. Yet, by latin theologians, we are constantly assured : that Bishops, lawfully assembled in Ecumenical Councils, have always decided upon points of faith, not by any arbitrary

exertion of mere unevidential dogmatic authority, but by an historical appeal to the UNVARYING testimony of antiquity; testimony, which, WITHOUT CHANGE OR EVEN SHADOW OF TURNING, has accurately descended to them, generation by generation, from the very commencement of Christianity. And, by these same latin divines, we are analogously instructed: that *The precise faith, now held by their Church and inculcated by themselves, is the identical faith; which, WITHOUT ANY THE LEAST VARIATION, has ALWAYS been maintained, from the very first, by the orthodox and infallible Church Catholic*¹.

¹ See Trevern's Discuss. Amic. vol. i. p. 121, 215, 216. and Berington's Faith of Cathol. Introd. p. 3. 12, 13.

On the principles laid down by Dr. Trevern and Mr. Berington, I should be glad to learn: how *three totally different modes* of expounding Christ's substantial presence in the Eucharist should ALL have existed, in the Latin Church, *with an equal admission of orthodoxy*, anterior to the year 1215; and how (as these two divines speak), the Fathers of the Fourth Lateran Council, by the simple process of *neither adding nor retrenching*, managed, *without making any alteration and through an unbroken chain of living witnesses*, to reject two modes and to impress upon the favoured THIRD mode the infallible seal of henceforth *exclusive* orthodoxy.

Except by an appeal to the mere dogmatical decision of the fourth Council of Lateran, Dr. Trevern and Mr. Berington, unless I greatly mistake, can shew no cause: why the doctrine of Transubstantiation ought to be *exclusively adopted*; and why the doctrines of Consubstantiation and Annihilation ought to be *peremptorily rejected*.

They cannot, however, appeal to *mere dogmatism*, without

I confess myself at a loss to reconcile these assertions, with the conduct of the fourth Lateran Council on the one hand, and with the honest acknowledgment of Bishop Tunstall on the other hand.

Doubtless, that really amiable Prelate may say, as he *does* say, that the decisions of the Church (confounding, as usual the provincial Latin Church of the West with the entire Church Catholic) is the column of the truth : but this does, in no wise, remove the present difficulty. If we receive the doctrine of Transubstantiation, as defined first by the fourth Lateran Council and afterward by the Council of Trent, we plainly must receive it, according to the very confession of Bishop Tunstall himself, not from the UNVARYING traditional testimony of antiquity, but simply upon the mere naked unevidential dogmatic authority of two Popes and two Councils, deciding respectively, according to their own unsupported good will and pleasure, more than twelve centuries and more than fifteen centuries after the Christian Era.

entirely abandoning their own boasted principle of *invariable traditionary descent*.

CHAPTER V.

PURGATORY.

By the Council of Trent it has been determined; that *There is a Purgatory*, and that *The souls there detained are assisted by the suffrages of the faithful and most especially by the acceptable sacrifice of the altar*: and the same Council furthermore asserts; that *This doctrine of a Purgatory has been learned by the Catholic Church, both from Holy Scripture, and from the ancient tradition of the Fathers*¹.

¹ Cum Catholica Ecclesia, Spiritu Sancto edocta, ex Sacris Litteris et antiqua Patrum traditione, in sacris Conciliis et novissime in hac Œcumenica Synodo docuerit: Purgatorium esse, animasque ibi detentas fidelium suffragiis potissimum vero acceptabili altaris sacrificio juvari: præcipit sancta Synodus Episcopis, ut sanam de Purgatorio doctrinam, a sanctis Patribus et sacris Conciliis traditam, a Christi fidelibus credi, teneri, doceri, et ubique prædicari, diligenter studeant. Concil. Trident. sess. xxv. decret. de Purgat. p. 505, 506.

Profiteor pariter in Missa offerri Deo verum, proprium, et propitiatorium sacrificium, pro vivis et defunctis—Constanter teneo Purgatorium esse, animasque ibi detentas fidelium suffragiis juvari. Profess. Fid. Trident. in Syllog. Confess. p. 4.

I. Now, as the Council declares, not merely by its own insulated authority, but professedly from the teaching of Holy Scripture and the ancient Fathers, that there is a Purgatory circumstanced agreeably to the preceding definition : a necessity is plainly laid, upon those who receive such doctrine from the Council of Trent, to establish it by direct proof, both from Holy Scripture, and from the ancient Fathers of the Church. Accordingly, the necessity has been felt, and the proof has been attempted.

1. The proof from Scripture, or from what the Tridentine Council has pronounced to be Scripture, is thought to be contained in the following passages.

(1.) *When Judas had made a gathering throughout the company, to the sum of two thousand drachms of silver, he sent it to Jerusalem, to offer a sin-offering ; doing therein very well and honestly, in that he was mindful of the resurrection (for, if he had not hoped that they that were slain should have risen again, it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead), and also in that he perceived that there was great favour laid up for those that died godly. It was a holy and good thought. Whereupon he made a reconciliation for the dead, that they might be delivered from sin*¹.

(2.) *And, whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him : but, whoso-*

¹ 2 Maccab. xii. 43—46.

*ever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come—But I say unto you, that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment—For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels: and then he shall reward every man according to his works*¹.

(3.) *Every man shall receive his own reward, according to his own labour—For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ. Now, if any man build, upon this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble; every man's work shall be made manifest. For the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire: and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is. If any man's work abide which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward: if any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss; but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire*².

(4.) *For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit. By which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison; which sometime were disobedient, when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah*³.

(5.) *There shall in no wise enter into it any thing*

¹ Matt. xii. 32. 36. xvi. 27.

² 1 Corinth. iii. 8. 11—15.

³ 1 Peter iii. 18—20.

that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination or maketh a lye : but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life ¹.

2. The proof from the ancient Fathers of the Church, or the Fathers of the three first centuries, must be sought in the following three writers, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Origen.

(1.) Tertullian, it will be remembered, flourished at the end of the second and at the beginning of the third century.

We annually make oblations for the dead, for their nativities ².

Let her pray for his soul : and let her, meanwhile, beg for him refreshment and a participation in the first resurrection : and let her offer on the anniversaries of his dormition ³.

And now repeat with God, for whose spirit you pray, for whom you make annual oblations ⁴.

(2.) Cyprian flourished about the middle of the third century.

The Bishops our predecessors, religiously considering and wholesomely providing, determined, that no brother, departing this life, should nominate a Clerk to a guardianship or executorship : and, if any

¹ Rev. xxi. 27.

² Tertull. de coron. mil. § 3. Oper. p. 449. For the original, see above, book i. chap. 4. § I. 2. (10.)

³ Tertull. de monogam. § 10. Oper. p. 578. For the original, see above, book i. chap. 4. § I. 2. (10.)

⁴ Tertull. exhort. ad castit. Oper. p. 564. For the original, see above, book i. chap. 4. § I. 2. (10.)

*one should have done this, they decreed, that no oblation should be made for him, and that no sacrifice should be celebrated for his dormition*¹.

*It is one thing, to stand a petitioner for pardon ; another, to come to glory : it is one thing, to be thrown into prison and not to come out from it until the last farthing be paid ; another, immediately to receive the reward of faith and virtue : it is one thing, to be cleansed for sins through the suffering of long pain and to be long purged in fire ; another, to have purged all sins through suffering : finally, it is one thing, to depend in the day of judgment upon the sentence of the Lord ; another, to be crowned by the Lord immediately*².

¹ Quod Episcopi antecessores nostri religiose considerantes, et salubriter providentes, censuerunt, ne quis frater excedens ad tutelam vel curam Clericum nominaret : ac, si quis hoc fecisset, non offerretur pro eo, nec sacrificium pro dormitione ejus celebraretur. Cyprian. Epist. i. Oper. vol. ii. p. 2, 3. For the example of Victor, see above, book i. chap. 4. § I. 2, (10.)

² Aliud est, ad veniam stare ; aliud, ad gloriam pervenire : aliud, missum in carcerem non exire inde, donec solvat novissimum quadrantem ; aliud, statim fidei et virtutis accipere mercedem : aliud, pro peccatis longo dolore cruciatum emundari et purgari diu igne ; aliud, peccata omnia passione purgasse : aliud denique, pendere in die judicii ad sententiam Domini ; aliud, statim a Domino coronari. Cyprian. Epist. lv. Oper. vol. ii. p. 109, 110.

Mr. Berington simply *refers* to two other passages in Cyprian. By his reference, I understand him to mean the two following.

Denique et dies eorum quibus excedunt annotate, ut commemorationes eorum inter memorias martyrum celebrare possimus : quanquam Tertullus fidelissimus et devotissimus frater

(3.) Origen flourished during the earlier half and about the middle of the third century.

It must now be considered, what awaits us hereafter : whether, if we depart this life, having sins but having likewise virtues, we shall be saved indeed on account of our virtues and shall be absolved of our sins knowingly committed ; or whether we shall be punished on account of our sins, and shall receive no reward on account of our virtues. But neither of these will be the fact : for I say, that we shall receive the reward of our good deeds, but shall receive no reward for our evil deeds ; inasmuch as it is just, that God should purify him who is willing, and should cut out that which is evil. Let us suppose, that, after Christ the foundation in whom you have been instructed, you have built no permanent gold and silver and precious stone : let us suppose, that you have gold either much or little : let us suppose, that you have silver and precious stone. But I speak not of these alone : for let us suppose, that you have also wood and hay and stubble ; what do you expect will happen to you after your departure ? Do

noster, pro cætera sollicitudine et cura sua quam fratribus in omni obsequio operationis impertit (qui nec illic circa curam corporum deest), scripserit et scribat, ac significet mihi dies quibus in carcere beati fratres nostri ad immortalitatem gloriosæ mortis exitu transeunt ; et celebrentur hic a nobis oblationes et sacrificia ob commemorationes eorum, quæ cito vobiscum Domino protegente celebrabimus. Cyprian. Epist. xii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 27, 28.

Offerendo oblationes eorum. Cyprian. Epist. xxxiv. Oper. vol. ii. p. 67.

you expect, that you will enter into the holy places, with your wood and your hay and your stubble, to pollute the kingdom of God? Or, on the other hand, do you expect, that, on account of the hay and the wood and the stubble, you will remain in the fire, and derive no good from the gold and the silver and the precious stone? Neither were this equitable. What, then, does it follow, that you shall first receive on account of the wood? It is manifest, that the fire will consume the wood and the hay and the stubble: for, in his essence, God is said, by the intelligent, to be a consuming fire. Yet the prophet, when he says Our God is a consuming fire, specifies not what it consumes: but, in using that language, he has left us to infer from it, that there is a something which is consumed. What, then, is that consumed something? Truly, he consumes not that which is according to his image and likeness, but the hay and the wood and the stubble which have been built upon it—For first the deeds of unrighteousness, and then the deeds of righteousness, are recompensed¹.

¹ Τὶ ἡμᾶς περιμένει, κατανοητέον· ἄρα, εἰὰν ἐξέλθωμεν τὸν βίον, ἔχοντες ἁμαρτήματα, ἔχοντες δὲ καὶ ἀνδραγαθήματα, σωθησόμεθα μὲν διὰ τὰ ἀνδραγαθήματα, ἀπολυσόμεθα δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐν γνώσει ἡμαρτημένων· ἢ κολασθησόμεθα μὲν διὰ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ μισθὸν ληψόμεθα τῶν ἀνδραγαθημάτων· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ ἕτερον. Δέγω δὲ τὸ ἀπολαβεῖν τὰ κρείττονα, μὴ ἀπολαβεῖν δὲ τὰ χείρονα· καθὰ δίκαιόν ἐστι τὸν Θεὸν καθαίρειν βουλόμενον, καὶ ἐκκόπτειν τὴν κακίαν. Ἔστω γάρ σε φκοδομηκέναι, μετὰ τὸ θεμέλιον Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν δεδίδαξει οὐ μένον χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ λίθον τίμιον· ἔστω σε ἔχειν χρυσὸν, ἢ πολὺν χρυσὸν, ἢ ὀλίγον· ἔστω σε ἔχειν ἄργυρον, λίθον τίμιον. Οὐ μόνον δὲ φημι

II. The texts from Scripture or from alleged Scripture, which have been adduced for the pur-

ταῦτα. Ἄλλ' ἔστω σε ἔχειν καὶ ξύλα, καὶ χόρτον, καὶ καλάμην· τί βούλει σοι γενέσθαι μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον; Πότερόν ποτε εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὰ ἅγια μετὰ τοῦ ξύλου σου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ χόρτου σου καὶ τῆς καλάμης, ἵνα μιάνῃς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ; Ἄλλα πάλιν ἀπομειναι θέλεις, διὰ τὸν χόρτον, διὰ τὰ ξύλα, διὰ τὴν καλάμην, ἐν τῷ πυρὶ, καὶ μηδὲν ἀπολαβεῖν περὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ λίθου τιμίου; Οὐδὲ τοῦτο εὐλογον. Τί οὖν πρῶτον ἀκολουθεῖ ἀπολαβεῖν διὰ τὰ ξύλα; Δῆλον, ὅτι τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἀναλίσκον τὰ ξύλα καὶ τὸν χόρτον καὶ τὴν καλάμην· ὁ Θεὸς γὰρ ἡμῶν τῇ οὐσίᾳ λέγεται, τοῖς συνίεναι δυναμένοις, πῦρ εἶναι ἀναλίσκον. Καὶ ἐσιώπησε μὲν τὸ τί ἀναλίσκον ὁ προφήτης, λέγων· Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν πῦρ καταναλίσκον. Ἡμῖν δὲ καταλέλοιπε νοεῖν, ὅτι εἶπεν Ὁ Θεὸς πῦρ ἐστὶ καταναλίσκον, ἔστι τί τὸ καταναλισκόμενον. Τί οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ καταναλισκόμενον; Οὐ γὰρ τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν ἀναλίσκει, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐποικοδομηθέντα χόρτον, τὰ ἐποικοδομηθέντα ξύλα, τὴν ἐποικοδομηθεῖσαν καλάμην—Πρῶτον γὰρ τὰ τῆς ἀδικίας, εἶτα τὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ἀποδίδοται. Orig. in Jerem. Homil. xvi. Oper. vol. i. p. 154, 155.

Mr. Berington's version of this passage is a free abridgment chiefly taken from the very imperfect appended Latin, rather than a literal and accurate translation from the original Greek. As I am not disposed, however, like some members of his communion, childishly to quibble about trifles which affect not the sense of an author, I can pardon *his abridgment*, though I cannot quite so easily pardon *his suppression of evidence*. Without giving, by the usual conventional mark of an hiatus, the slightest notice of *a not unimportant omission*; he presents to his readers a version, which typographically purports to be *continuous*, when in truth it is *not continuous*. In my own more correct translation from the original Greek, I have carefully placed the mark expressive of interrupted citation. See Faith of Cathol. p. 356, 357.

Mr. Berington gives two other parallel passages, on the same subject, from Origen: but, as they exist only in the very un-

pose of establishing the dogma of a Purgatory, may be arranged and considered under two classes: those, which are cited from the New Testament; and that, which is brought forward from the second book of the Maccabèan History.

1. With respect to the texts which have been cited from the New Testament, they may be dismissed without much prolixity of discussion.

A bare inspection of those texts will suffice to shew, that they are made to subserve the purposes of Latin Theology only by a quite gratuitous and arbitrary interpretation: an interpretation, the adopting of which in controversy is virtually nothing more than a mere begging of the question.

This, apparently, has been felt even by the Romanists themselves: for, though Mr. Berington produces the texts under consideration, as establishing the existence of a Purgatory ¹; the Bishop of Strasbourg, much to his credit, totally omits them, with the honest remark, that, as Christ has not thought fit to communicate any revelation on the subject, we can only form conjectures more or less probable ².

safe latin version of Ruffinus who wrote in the fifth century, I have, agreeably to my proposed plan, omitted them. See Faith of Cathol. p. 355, 356.

¹ Faith of Cathol. p. 352, 353.

² Au surplus, nos fautes sont si graves, si multipliées, la pénitence si rare parmi nous, et généralement si légère; nos dispositions à profiter des indulgences si défectueuses, si incertaines, qu'après avoir été absous et pardonnés, il doit nous rester pour la plupart beaucoup à expier dans l'autre monde.

With such an acknowledgment before us, we

Mais où? Dans quel endroit et de quelle manière? S'il avoit été nécessaire pour nous d'être instruits sur ces questions, Jésus Christ nous en auroit sans doute révélé la connoissance. **IL NE L'A POINT FAIT.** Nous ne pouvons donc former que des conjectures plus ou moins probables. *Discuss. Amic. lett.* xiii. vol. ii. p. 242.

Faithful to this honest confession, Dr. Trevern cites not a single text from the New Testament to prove the existence of a purgatory, but contents himself with adducing the passage from the Maccabèan History. *Ibid.* p. 245, 246. Yet, as if aware that in the article of tangible evidence he was building only upon the sand, he labours to supply his lamentable want of testimony by an attempt at abstract reasoning.

We must make, argues the Prelate of Strasbourg, an expiatory satisfaction to the divine justice, either in this world or in the next. Few men, however, make a full expiatory satisfaction in this world. Therefore they must make it in the next. Now, in the next world, they can no longer pursue good works, no longer distribute alms, no longer offer any compensatory reparations to Heaven. One only method of making satisfaction remains to them: that, to wit, of suffering. But, if suffering be the sole method of making satisfaction which remains to them hereafter: then, indisputably, there must be a place where this suffering is undergone. Now the place, which has been thus clearly proved to exist, is, by the Councils of Florence and Trent, conventionally denominated *Purgatory*. See *Discuss. Amic. lett.* xiii. vol. ii. p. 242—244.

When a writer undertakes to substantiate a point by *direct evidence*; he travels not a little out of the record, by resorting, in acknowledged lack of such evidence so far as Scripture is concerned, to the *doubtful aid of abstract reasoning*. A Protestant, whose views of the *exclusively* atoning efficacy of the death of Christ are somewhat more scripturally correct than those of Dr. Trevern, will at one blow demolish his airy fabric by a flat denial of the premises on which it is constructed.

may well claim to be spared the trouble of a formal discussion of passages which are nothing to the purpose.

2. The texts from the New Testament being thus set aside as confessedly irrelevant and inconclusive, the whole weight of the scriptural proof of the existence of a Purgatory will rest upon the passage contained in the second book of the Greek History of the Maccabees: for it is not pretended, that the Hebrew Scriptures afford so much as a shadow of evidence.

(1.) Now, even if we were complaisant enough to admit the tridentine decree, which places the two first books of the Maccabees in the roll of the sacred Canon: still the passage, adduced from that History, would be found, both grievously defective, and glaringly inappropriate.

Respecting the very existence of any Purgatory in a future state, the passage is altogether silent. Prayers for the dead it mentions, indeed, with approbation: but it gives not the slightest hint, that those prayers were offered up for the purpose of extricating the souls of the deceased from the pains of a Latin Purgatory. In truth, the whole place is utterly irreconcilable with any such notion. The prayers in question were associated with a sin-offering to be devoted at Jerusalem: and the declared joint object of the two was, not a deliverance from Purgatory, but a deliverance from sin to be effected through the medium of making a sacrificial reconciliation for the departed.

Nor is the passage, for the purposes of Latin Theology, *defective* only : it is likewise, even on the principles of that Theology itself, glaringly *inappropriate*. The doctrine of the Roman Church is : that *Those, who die in mortal sin unrepented of, are irrevocably consigned to Hell ; while those, who die tainted only with venial sin for which in this world they have not personally made sufficient expiation, pass for a season into Purgatory*¹. But the text from the Maccabèan History cannot establish the existence of a Purgatory, without flatly contradicting this received scheme of doctrine. Idolatry has ever been held one of the deadly sins. Now the men, for whom Judas offered up prayers and a sin-offering, died in an act of unrepented idolatry : which act is expressly declared to have been the cause of their being slain². They died, therefore, in an unrepented act of mortal sin. Hence, on latin principles, the plain and necessary consequence is : either that *their souls passed into Hell and not into Purgatory* ; in which case, it is idle to cite the place in proof of the existence of a Purgatory : or that *their souls passed into Purgatory and not into Hell* ; in which case, the latin doctrine of an exclusive reservation of Purgatory for as yet unexpiated venial sins will be flatly contradicted. Thus, with singular infelicity, the text, even if we admit it to be canonical

¹ See Concil. Trident. sess. xiv. c. 1, 5. p. 144, 148, 149. sess. 25. p. 506.

² 2 Macc. xii. 39—42.

Scripture, can only be made to prove the existence of a Purgatory, through the medium of convicting the Roman Church of teaching erroneous doctrine.

(2.) But, in reality, nothing can be more nugatory than the mere dogmatical edict of the Tridentine Council, by which a Jewish History, written in Greek and never acknowledged even by the Jews themselves to be canonical, is presumptuously obtruded into the venerable roll of inspired Hebrew Scripture.

In the fourth century, Cyril of Jerusalem, on behalf of the Greek Church, excluded from the sacred canon of the Old Testament, the whole of the Apocrypha save the Epistle of Baruch ; which Epistle itself was afterward rejected, when the question had undergone a subsequent more complete examination¹ : and so little inclined was this ancient Catechist and Prelate of the acknowledged Mother-Church to build any point of doctrine upon the mere uninspired and unauthoritative Maccabèan History, that he strenuously advised his Catechumens, to *have nothing in common with the Apocrypha*, but (so far as the Canon of the Old Testament was concerned) to study those two and twenty books ONLY which are read in the Church ; giving them this wholesome advice on the professed ground, that, *since the superior wisdom of the Apostles and primitive Bishops had*

¹ Cyril. Hieros. Catech. iv. p. 36—38.

delivered such two and twenty books exclusively, the devout children of the Church ought not to set upon her authorised documents the adulterating seal of a false impression ¹.

So likewise, in the fifth century, Ruffinus of Aquileia, on behalf of the Latin Church, similarly excluded, from the sacred Canon of the Old Testament, the whole of the Apocrypha without any exception: and thus, while his enumeration of the inspired canonical books perfectly corresponds with that of the Church of England, his subsequent partial enumeration of the apocryphal books is attended with a distinct statement; that, by the predecessors of the then existing generation, those books were styled, not *canonical*, but *ecclesiastical*; and that, although they might be read in churches for the sake of edification, *they were not to be controversially adduced as any authority for the settlement of a point of faith and doctrine* ².

¹ Τούτων τὰς εἴκοσι δύο βίβλους ἀναγίνωσκε πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἀπόκρυφα μηδὲν ἔχε κοινόν. Ταύτας ΜΟΝΑΣ μελέτα σπουδαίως, ἅς καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ μετὰ παύρησίᾳ ἀναγινώσκομεν. Πολύ σου φρονιμώτεροί ἦσαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἐπίσκοποι, οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προστάται, οἱ ταύτας παραδόντες. Σὺ οὖν, τέκνον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὦν, μὴ παραχάραττε τοὺς θεσμούς. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. iv. p. 37.

² After specifying the Canon both of the Old and of the New Testament, Ruffinus proceeds as follows.

Sciendum tamen est, quod et alii libri sunt, qui non *canonici*, sed *ecclesiastici*, a majoribus appellati sunt: ut est Sapiaentia Solomonis—Ejusdem ordinis est libellus Tobiaë, et Judith, et *Maccabæorum libri*—Quæ omnia *legi* quidem in ecclesiis vo-

Such, on the part both of the Greek Church and of the Latin Church, was the ancient estimate of the Apocrypha and consequently of the two first books of Maccabees: and, in strict accordance with it, Pope Gregory the great, who flourished at the end of the sixth and at the beginning of the seventh century, having occasion to quote a passage from the Maccabèan History, introduces it with a regular apology for citing a Work, which confessedly was *not canonical*, but which nevertheless was used in the Church for the purpose of edification¹.

Nay more: as if these ancient testimonies of the Catholic Church both in the East and in the

luerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam. Ruffin. Expos. in Symbol. Apost. p. 26, 27. apud calc. Oper. Cyprian. Oxon. 1682.

¹ Qua de re non inordinatè agimus, si, ex libris *licet non canonicis*, sed tamen ad ædificationem ecclesiæ editis, testimonium proferamus. Gregor. Magn. Moral. in Job. lib. xix. c. 13.

Yet, with this evidence staring him in the face (unless, indeed, he were shamefully ignorant of its existence), Dr. Trevern has actually the hardihood to assure the english laic, with whom he professes to correspond, that the Reformers of the sixteenth century removed the Maccabèan History from the Canon, purely to rid themselves of the troublesome testimony, which it bears to mortuary supplications and thence implicatively (as he fancies) to the doctrine of Purgatory! Discuss. Amic. lett. xiii. vol. ii. p. 246. The truth is, it was foisted into the Canon by the latin divines for the evident purpose of propping up a superstition, which receives no countenance from the genuine Canon either of the Old or of the New Testament.

West were not sufficient to put to open shame, both the Tridentine Fathers who dared to obtrude the mere uninspired Maccabèan History as canonical, and such writers as Mr. Berington and Dr. Trevern who (in defiance of the evidence of Rufinus and the wise admonition of Cyril) *actually adduce a passage from that History as an inspired authority for the settlement of a point of faith*: the author of that identical Work, after lauding the deed of a deliberate suicide, finally employs language, which is altogether incompatible with any intelligible idea of a divine inspiration¹. *I will here, says he, make an end of my discourse. If, indeed, it has been carried on handsomely and worthily of the subject; this also is what I desired: but, if slenderly and meanly; I have at least done my best*². No really inspired writer could, either praise an act of self-murder as a glorious and heroic exploit, or speak in such modestly depreciating and apologising terms respecting a composition which in all future ages was to be received as a portion of God's own word to his people.

The whole pretended scriptural proof, then, of the doctrine of a Purgatory, as set up by the theologians of the Church of Rome, rests upon a single solitary passage: which, in the first place,

¹ See 2 Macc. xiv. 37—46.

² Καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτόθι καταπαύσω τὸν λόγον. Καὶ, εἰ μὲν καλῶς καὶ εὐθίκτως τῇ συντάξει, τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ἤθελον· εἰ δὲ εὐτελῶς καὶ μετρίως, τοῦτο ἐφικτὸν ἦν μοι. 2 Macc. xv. 37. 38.

never once mentions Purgatory ; which, in the second place, cannot be made to establish the existence of a Purgatory, without also teaching that the inmates of that temporary mansion may be persons who have died in the act of mortal sin unrepented of ; and which, in the third place, occurs in a Work, rejected by the early Catholic Church both of the East and of the West from the Canon of inspired Scripture, encomiastic of the manful and noble death of self-murder, and apologetically confessed by its nameless author to have been executed only to the best of his ability.

III. If the revealed word of God, whether in the New Testament or in the Old Testament, be altogether silent respecting the existence of a Purgatory : it is utterly vain to seek for information on the subject from any mere uninspired mortal.

Hence, in the very nature and necessity of things, even if, as an historical fact, it could be evidentially established, that *the early Church believed and taught the doctrine of a Purgatory* : still, we should have nothing substantiated, save that the early Church, departing in this instance too soon from the simplicity of the faith, had presumptuously dared to teach a doctrine, which is no where propounded in the inspired Scriptures either of the Greek or of the Hebrew Canon.

But, though such would be the sole result even of the establishment of the fact in question, my veneration for the primitive Church and my unwillingness to see her charged with an unscrip-

tural superstition prompt me to inquire, whether the passages from Tertullian and Cyprian and Origen, adduced for that purpose by Dr. Trevern or Mr. Berington, are sufficient for its evidential establishment ¹.

1. Now, even on a mere rapid inspection of the alleged testimony, it is impossible not to be struck, both with its miserable scantiness, and with its comparative lateness.

(1.) The Fathers of the three first centuries, whose writings, either wholly or partially have come down to us, may be roughly estimated as in number exceeding *twenty*: and, out of these, the sole even pretended vouchers for the primitive belief in the doctrine of a Purgatory, whom the painful industry of Dr. Trevern and Mr. Berington has been able to discover, amount precisely to the sum of *three*.

(2.) Woefully *scanty* as is this meagre muster-roll, the comparative *lateness* of the individuals who are by name summoned to the ecclesiastical parade, is equally unsatisfactory.

Omitting *all* the Fathers of the first and *all the other* Fathers of the second century, though many of them treat of matters transacted beyond the grave, Mr. Berington is content to give, as his *very earliest* witness, Tertullian; who, according to his own statement, flourished from the year

¹ Discuss. Amic. lett. xiii. vol. ii. p. 243. Faith of Cathol. p. 354—357.

194 to the year 216¹: and, with Tertullian, he and Dr. Trevern are willing to associate Cyprian and Origen; who, still according to his own statement, were actively living, the one from the year 248 to the year 258, the other from the year 203 to the year 254².

Thus, confessedly, we have *not a single witness* for the first century, and *only one* for the second: *that* solitary witness, moreover, flourishing, not at the beginning of the second, but quite at its end and at the beginning of the third. Hence, even if the passages *really* proved what they have been *adduced* to prove, they would only establish the somewhat useless fact: that, *about two hundred years after the birth of Christ, and about one hundred years after the death of St. John the last survivor of the Apostolic College, the Church, so far as its practices were known to Tertullian, for whatever reason, though certainly not from any scriptural authority, had begun to teach the doctrine of a Purgatory.*

2. Some of the adduced passages speak of *oblations made for the dead*: and the fact of those *oblations* is thought to establish the early existence, both of what the Latins call *the sacrifice of Christ in the Mass*, and of the unscriptural dogma now under consideration.

¹ See Chronol. Table in Faith of Cathol. Introd. p. li.

² Ibid.

But the fallacy of any such notion has already been exposed : for the oblations in question were not the missal sacrifice of Christ for the quick and for the dead, as the modern Latins speak ; but they were simply spiritual sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving to God for the happy departure of the saints to glory.

3. These matters being premised, we may now proceed to the direct testimony of our three witnesses.

(1.) Tertullian undoubtedly recommended, that *prayers should be offered up for the benefit of the dead*: and, from this perfectly well established fact, Mr. Berington, as the circumstance of his citing Tertullian apparently intimates, would have us infer, that *Tertullian and his contemporaries held the doctrine of a Purgatory*.

The *necessity* of this liberal inference, to the cause of Mr. Berington and Dr. Trevern, is abundantly manifest. Tertullian recommends *prayers for the dead*: but he says not a syllable about *Purgatory*. Hence, unless the implied inference, required by Mr. Berington, be just ; it is nugatory to cite Tertullian, as a witness in favour of that doctrine.

From an ignorance of the notions prevalent among the Christians at the end of the second and at the beginning of the third century, nothing is more common than hastily to fancy ; that *Prayers for the dead*, and *The doctrine of a Purga-*

tory, are strict correlatives : for *Why*, it is asked, *should men pray for the dead, save to deliver their souls from the pains of Purgatory ?*

But these two matters are, *in no wise*, correlatives. The early Christians, who symbolised in opinion with Tertullian, prayed, indeed, for the dead : but they thus prayed, on a principle *totally different* from that which has been adopted by the modern Church of Rome. Even in one of the passages cited from Tertullian by Mr. Berington himself, the *ground* of such prayers is very distinctly stated : and, in another passage which has *not* been cited by him, the same statement is repeated. By these early Christians, prayers were offered up for the dead, not that *they might be delivered from an imaginary Purgatory*, but that *they might be partakers of the first resurrection instead of waiting for the last* ¹. Hence the offering up of prayers for the dead, by Tertullian and his symbolising contemporaries, affords not the slightest proof, that the primitive Church held the doctrine of a Purgatory.

¹ Pro anima ejus oret : et refrigerium interim adpostulet ei et in prima resurrectione consortium. Tertull. de monogam. § 10. Oper. p. 578.

In summa, quum *carcerem* illum, quod Evangelium demonstrat, *inferos* intelligimus ; et *novissimum quadrantem, modicum quoque delictum mora resurrectionis illic luendum*, interpretamur : nemo dubitabit animam aliquid pensare penes inferos, salva resurrectionis plenitudine, per carnem quoque. Tertull. de anim. Oper. p. 689.

It will probably be urged, that Tertullian recommends prayers for the dead, not only that they may partake of the first resurrection, but likewise that in their separate state they may experience *refreshment*¹. Now *refreshment* implies release from pain : and release from pain implies a Purgatory.

Nothing can be more fallacious, than such inductive reasoning. What Tertullian meant by this *refreshment*, he himself, in yet another place, unequivocally declares. The expression, in *his* use of it, set forth, not *a release from pain*, but *an enjoyment of positive though imperfect happiness, on the part of the just, from the very moment of their dissolution, in that separate abode of holy disembodied spirits which Tertullian supposes our Lord to distinguish by the appellation of Abraham's bosom*². A prayer, therefore, for the *refreshment* of the deceased, whether such a prayer be scripturally warrantable or not, imports, at all events,

¹ Refrigerium.

² Eam itaque regionem *sinum* dico *Abrahæ* ; et, si non cœlestem, sublimiorem tamen inferis, interim refrigerium præbituram animabus justorum, donec consummatio rerum resurrectionem omnium plenitudine mercedis expungat—Quod si æternus repromittitur, et ascensus in cœlum ædificatur a Creatore, promittente etiam semen *Abrahæ* velut stellas cœli futurum, utique ob cœlestem promissionem ; salva ex promissione, cur non capiat *sinum Abrahæ* dici temporale aliquod animarum fidelium receptaculum, in quo jam deliniatur futuri imago, ac candida quædam utriusque judicii prospiciatur ? Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. iv. § 51. Oper p. 275.

nothing more than a petition: that a departed soul might rest in Abraham's bosom until the day of resurrection; instead of being consigned to the separate abode of wicked disembodied spirits, where they remain in fearful anticipation of their final sentence at the day of judgment¹.

Whatever might be the *general* practice of the Church in the days of Tertullian, it is clear, that prayers for the dead had been introduced even into public worship antecedently to the time of Constantine: for we find a prayer of this description in the old Clementine Liturgy, which was earlier than the reign of that Emperor. I consider that prayer as specially valuable: because it throws a strong and distinct light upon the notions, which were prevalent in the third century. Supplication is made in it, that *God would pardon the sins of the individual deceased*, and that *he*

¹ Accordingly, this idea is distinctly set forth by Tertullian.

Omnes ergo animæ penes inferos, inquis. Velis ac nolis et supplicia jam illic et refrigeria, habes pauperem et divitem: et, quia distuli nescio quid ad hanc partem, jam opportunè in clausulam reddam. Cur enim non putes animam et puniri et foveri in inferis interim, sub expectatione utriusque judicii, in quadam usurpatione et candida ejus? Tertull. de anim. Oper. p. 688.

This passage is absolutely fatal to the doctrine of a Purgatory. According to the speculation of Tertullian, the abode of separate spirits is divided into two mansions. In the one, the pious *enjoy refreshment* (refrigeria) with a blissful anticipation of future perfect happiness: in the other, the wicked *suffer punishment* (supplicia;) which punishment consists in a fearful anticipation of an eternity of positive misery.

would place him in the blessed rest of Abraham's bosom whence sorrow and pain and lamentation flee away¹. As for any deliverance from Purgatory, not a word is said, not a hint is given, respecting it. On the contrary, the language employed even expressly *disavows* the existence of any such scripturally unrecognised mansion.

The souls of all live with thee ; and in thy hand are the spirits of the just, WHOM TORMENT SHALL IN NO WISE TOUCH : for all the sanctified are under thy hands. Look, therefore, upon this thy servant, whom thou hast chosen and removed to another condition: and pardon him his sins, both voluntary and involuntary. Make the angels benevolent to him :

¹ Ὑπὲρ ἀναπαυσαμένων ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν δεηθῶμεν ὅπως ὁ φιλόανθρωπος Θεός, ὁ προσδεξάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν, παρείδῃ αὐτῷ πᾶν ἁμάρτημα ἐκούσιον καὶ ἀκούσιον· καὶ, ἴλεως καὶ εὐμενῆς γενόμενος, κατατάξῃ εἰς χώραν εὐσεβῶν, ἀνειμένων εἰς κόλπον Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐαρεστησάντων καὶ ποιησάντων τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ· ἔνθα ἀπέδρα, ὀδύνη, καὶ λύπη, καὶ στεναγμός. Orat. pro mort. in Liturg. Clement. apud Const. Apost. lib. viii. c. 41.

The very commencement of this prayer, *Let us pray for our brethren who REST in Christ*, is irreconcilable with the doctrine of a purgatory, into which, according to Dr. Trevern, even *the best* of us must enter, for the purpose of being purified from our *slightest* stains. A suffering abode in Purgatory, the pains of which, in the judgment of the most approved latin doctors, though but temporary in duration, equal those of Hell in point of intensity, were but a sorry *REST in Christ* for our departed brethren, who, as Dr. Trevern speaks, doivent être purifiés de leurs *moindres* souillares. Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 243. Note.

*and place him in the bosom of the patriarchs and the prophets and the apostles and all those who have been pleasing to thee from the beginning of the world ; where is neither grief nor pain nor lamentation ; but where is the quiet abode of the pious and the still land of the upright, even of those who in it behold the glory of thy Christ*¹.

Thus, I think, to prove the early belief of a Purgatory, from the language of Tertullian respecting prayers for the dead, is indeed a task most deplorably hopeless.

(2.) We have next to inquire, whether Cyprian will stand the doctrine of the Roman Church in any better stead than Tertullian.

It must be confessed, that a passage, to all appearance not a little promising, has been adduced from the Epistles of that Father : for he actually speaks, of *men being cleansed for sins through the suffering of long pain*, and even of *their being long*

¹ Πάντων αἱ ψυχὰὶ παρά σοι ζῶσι· καὶ τῶν δικαίων τὰ πνεύματα ἐν τῇ χειρὶ σου εἰσὶν, ὧν οὐ μὴ ἄψηται βάσανος· πάντες γὰρ ἡγιασμένοι ὑπὸ τὰς χειρὰς σου εἰσὶν. Αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τὸν δούλον σου τόνδε, ὃν ἐξελέξω καὶ προσελάβου εἰς ἑτέραν λῆξιν· καὶ συγχώρησον αὐτῷ, εἴ τι ἔκων ἢ ἄκων ἐξήμαρτε. Ἄγγελος εὐμενεὶς παράστησον αὐτῷ· καὶ κατάταξον αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τῶν πατριαρχῶν καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνός σοι εὐαρεστησάντων· ὅπου οὐκ ἔστι λύπη, οὐδύνη, καὶ στεναγμός· ἀλλὰ χάρος εὐσεβῶν ἀνημέρος, καὶ γῆ εὐθείων συνανημένη, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ὀρώντων τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου. Orat. pro mort. in Liturg. Clement. apud Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. 41.

*purged in fire itself*¹. But, promising as the passage may appear, I regret to say, that I know not how to excuse Mr. Berington and Dr. Trevern from absolute dishonesty, save by the imputation of somewhat disgraceful ignorance.

The place before us refers, not to any Purgatory in a *future* state of existence, but simply to the allegorical fire of penitential austerities in *this* world: a fire, in which, by the early discipline of the Church, it was required, that the lapsed should for an appointed season exercise themselves.

Nor is this account of the passage a mere evasion of an interested adversary. As the whole context of the place, both antecedent and subsequent, though prudently *suppressed* by Dr. Trevern and Mr. Berington, distinctly shews, that *Cyprian is treating of perance in this world*: so, by a commentator of their own communion, the learned Rigaltius, this just and natural explanation of it is actually given². Yet, as if the pas-

¹ Pro peccatis longo dolore cruciatum emundari et purgari diu igne. Cyprian. Epist. lv. ut supra.

² Disputat Cyprianus, de lapsis ad pœnitentiam, hoc est, ad veniam et Ecclesiam, recipiendis. Nam, post impetratam pœnitentiam, ea rite peracta, pœnitentibus venia datur, pax et Ecclesia redditur lapsis, puta libellatis et turificatis. Ac varias quidem intercedere, ait, circumstantias et figuras delictorum; pro quibus, Episcoporum arbitrio, temperari pœnitentia debeat. Hoc tamen interesse, quod cum libellatis mitius agi debere, multa suadeant. Contradicebant Episcopi nonnulli, ideo

sage stood in an insulated form without any elucidating context, and as if their own Rigaltius had

maximè negandam esse pœnitentiam lapsis, quod, laxata semel disciplinæ regula, maximum sequeretur Ecclesiæ detrimentum, et in summo periculo versaretur fidei Christianæ tenor. Nam quis deinceps pro nomine Christi martyria non fugiat, aut vitam quacunq̄ ratione suam non redimat, qui lapsis pœnitentiæ tempus concedi debere intellexerit? Hoc vero non ita metuendum esse, Cyprianus ait. Etenim longè aliam esse conditionem lapsorum; aliam, confessorum sive martyrum. Hos statim paradiso recipi, de gloria, de mercede, de corona, certos: illos ad veniam stare, anxios et sollicitos, quid statuatur ac decernatur Episcopus; et an pœnitentiæ tempus indicat tam longum, quam esse debitori solet carceris tædium, unde non exeant, donec solvant novissimum quadrantem; an forma pœnitentiæ futura sit tam atrox, pro qualitate scilicet criminis, ut per cineres et pulverem volutari, per jejuniorum tristitiam, perque ciliciorum asperitatem macerari, per gemitus et suspiria, cordis exæstuantis dolorem clarè loquentia, velut metallum ignibus ardentissimis excoqui ac purgari debeant; et, post hæc omnia tandem, aut si qua infirmitas urserit, ægrè recepti, in diem iudicii, ad sententiam Domini pendeant reservati. Cum sit, igitur, tanta pœna proposita lapsis ut eventus incerti pœnitentiam adipiscantur, tam certa vero tamque præsens martyri gloria; non esse, cur ad fugienda martyria fideles invitari pœnitentia videantur. Rigalt. in Cyprian. Epist. lv. apud Cyprian. Oper. vol. ii. p. 109.

If Dr. Trevern and Mr. Berington were acquainted with this comment of their able and honest fellow-religionist Rigaltius: what shall we think of their conduct, in adducing, without the slightest notice of it, a perfectly irrelevant passage of Cyprian *as evidence for the doctrine of a future Purgatory*, they themselves *actually knowing* that the passage *was* irrelevant? If they were unacquainted with the comment of Rigaltius: what shall we think of their theological competency to erect, from the attestation of the early Fathers, as Mr. Berington speaks,

never written; this identical passage is gravely adduced, by two latin theologians of the nineteenth century, for the purpose of exhibiting, to their unsuspecting laic readers, the venerable Cyprian as a primitive witness for the doctrine of Purgatory¹.

(3.) Of the three alleged witnesses for the primitive existence of the doctrine of Purgatory, Origen alone remains: and, as he is in truth delivering, not the sentiments of the Church, but a mere private speculation of his own, anathematised, with sundry others of his whimsical phantasies, by the fifth ecumenical Council which sat at Constantinople in the year 553; so I have once more to complain, that our two zealous Roman Divines have sedulously avoided putting

a monument of the antiquity and perpetuity of the faith of the Catholics of the United Kingdom? See title and dedication of *The Faith of Catholics*.

To mislead the unsuspecting Laity by the bold adduction of pretended authorities, which cannot be verified save by a not always easy resort to a library of reference, is a disgraceful and unhallowed practice, which cannot be too strongly reprobated. By Mr. Berington's formal citation of the passage in Cyprian, under the head of *proofs of Purgatory from the Fathers*, the great bulk of his readers, I make no doubt, have been fully satisfied, that the martyred Bishop of Carthage in the third century symbolised, on the article of a future Purgatory, with the modern Church of the Latins.

¹ For the direct and distinct evidence of Cyprian *against* the doctrine of a Purgatory, evidence carefully suppressed both by Mr. Berington and by Dr. Trevern, see below, book ii. chap. 5. § II. 6.

their readers in possession of the real merits of the case¹.

Origen, rejecting the old established doctrine of the Church Catholic, maintained, that *Hell is only a temporary abode, that the punishment of the condemned is not eternal, and that all intelligent beings will be finally restored to order and happiness.*

This notion, of plain necessity, produced, as it has since also among some of the modern Soci-nians similarly produced, the doctrine of a Purgatory². For, if the torments of Hell be *not* eternal, and if those torments are *designedly efficacious* to reclaim and to refine the sufferers in

¹ Ἡ πέμπτη σύνοδος γέγονεν ἐπὶ Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ πρώτου, ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα πέντε ἀγίων πατέρων συνεληθόντων ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει· ἧτις ἐπεκύρωσε τὰ δογματισθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς ἁγίας τετάρτης συνόδου, καὶ τοὺς κατ' αὐτῆς βλασφημοῦντας ἀνεθεμάτισεν, ἡγουν Ὀριγένην καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἄσεβῆ δόγματα καὶ συγγράμματα. Bals. apud Beveridg. Synod. vol. i. p. 150.

Ἡ πέμπτη σύνοδος—ἀνεθεμάτισε καὶ Ὀριγένην καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἄσεβῆ συγγράμματα καὶ ἀλλόκοτα δόγματα. Zonar. Ibid.

This Council did not put forth any Canons: *Κανόνας δὲ ἡ τοιαύτη σύνοδος οὐκ ἐξέθετο*: but it is commonly understood and allowed, that, among the speculations of Origen condemned by it, were the following. 1. The præexistence of souls. 2. The rotundity of all human bodies after their resurrection. 3. The non-eternity of future punishment.

The last of these speculations produced that identical Purgatory of Origen, which Mr. Berington gravely adduces in evidence for the primitive antiquity of the latin doctrine of a Purgatory.

² See Carpenter's Exam. of Abp. Magee's Charges. p. 43.

order to their final admission into celestial glory: Hell, in the established ecclesiastical sense of the word, has no existence; and its place is forthwith occupied by a Purgatory of only temporary duration.

Such was the Purgatory, struck out by the inventive genius of Origen, and condemned with various other speculations by the second general Council of Constantinople.

Having thus annihilated Hell, and having thus supplied its place with a purgatory (which differs, however, not a little, in point of arrangement, from the accredited Purgatory of the modern Latin Church); Origen had next to undertake the somewhat arduous task of establishing his novel speculation by the authority of Scripture. This he attempted to perform, by adducing in evidence the well-known text from St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians. Mr. Berington, in his *free abridgement* (for *translation* it is not) of the passage from Origen which has been given in an accurate form by myself, would fain exhibit that Father, as speaking the received doctrine of the Church on the topic of Purgatory, and as expounding unhesitatingly the probative text of the Apostle according to its unvaried and universally admitted interpretation. But, in every way, such an exhibition of Origen is grossly inaccurate. The learned, though fanciful, Catechist of Alexandria gives us his own insulated private reasoning, not the doctrine of the Church which in truth he had

rejected: and, in the very midst of the passage (though Mr. Berington has been pleased to *suppress* the acknowledgment, not even so much as noting its omission by the common conventional mark indicative of non-continuous citation), instead of quoting the probative text with the full confidence of a man who knew that he was securely building upon its universally admitted exposition, he fairly owns that *it is very difficult to be understood*¹. Confessedly, therefore, he would establish his novel speculation, of a *Hell transmuted into a Purgatory*, by a text so obscure, that he himself very creditably acknowledged (though his honest acknowledgment is *suppressed* by

¹ Ὁ τόπος ἦν ἐνσδιήγητος σφόδρα. Orig. in Jerem. Homil. xvi. Oper. vol. i. p. 155.

This acknowledgment is omitted by Mr. Berington, where, in my version of the cited passage, I have duly placed the mark of non-continuous quotation. Mr. Berington, in short, writes as follows.

But this fire consumes not the creature, but what the creature has himself built, wood and hay and stubble. First, therefore, we suffer on account of our transgressions: and, then, we receive our reward.

Whereas, even according to his own slovenly version, he ought to have written.

But this fire consumes not the creature, but what the creature has himself built, wood and hay and stubble—First, therefore, we suffer on account of our transgressions: and, then, we receive our reward.

Mr. Berington, without the slightest notice to his reader, has deliberately omitted Origen's acknowledgment of the obscurity of the text, where I have placed the mark — .

Mr. Berington) the absolute uncertainty of its import.

Nor is this all. At a subsequent period, and in his last and best production, Origen himself *relinquished* that interpretation of the text, upon which he was content to build his purgatorial hypothesis. In his Work against Celsus, he considers the text, as referring to God's providential punishment of sin in *this* world: arguing, with some acuteness, that we cannot legitimately deem the fire mentioned by the Apostle to be a *literal* or *material* fire, unless, what is a plain absurdity, we also deem the objects consumed by it to be *literal* or *material* wood and hay and stible¹.

Whether his final interpretation of the text be strictly correct, is nothing to our present purpose: the gloss of the more ancient Tertullian, who, by *the wood and the hay and the stible*, understands *erroneous doctrines, incapable, like the imperishable gold, of bearing the test of the figurative crucible*,

¹ Καταβαίνει γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου μεγέθους καὶ ὕψους, ὅτε τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ μάλιστα τῶν φαύλων οἰκονομεῖ—Ἐπὶ οὖν λέγεται πῦρ εἶναι καταναλίσκον, ζητοῦμεν· Τίνα πρέπει ὑπὸ Θεοῦ καταναλίσκεσθαι; Καὶ φάμεν, ὅτι τὴν κακίαν, καὶ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῆς πραττόμενα, καὶ τροπικῶς λεγόμενα ξύλα εἶναι καὶ χόρτον καὶ καλάμην, καταναλίσκει ὁ Θεὸς ὡς πῦρ. Ἐποικοδομεῖν γοῦν ὁ φαῦλος λέγεται τῷ προῦποβεβλημένῳ λογικῷ θεμελίῳ ξύλα καὶ χόρτον καὶ καλάμην. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔχει δεῖξαι ἄλλως νενοῆσθαι τὰ ταῦτα τῷ ἀναγράψαντι, καὶ σωματικῶς δύναται τις παραστήσαι ἐποικοδομοῦντα τὸν φαῦλον ξύλα ἢ χόρτον ἢ καλάμην· δῆλον, ὅτι καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὑλικὸν καὶ αἰσθητὸν νοηθήσεται. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. iv. p. 168.

is probably more accurate, while it is equally useless to the latin demonstrators of a future purgatory¹. Be that, however, as it may, the cautious inquirer will now perceive, that, if the proof of the primitive belief in that Tridentine Article of the Roman Faith is to rest upon Origen: it will indeed rest upon nothing more substantial than a reed, not very strong even in itself, but fractured most unmercifully by the authoritative infallibility of the fifth Ecumenical Council.

IV. Yet, why need I press the question of evidence any further? It has been fairly given up, both by Barns and by Fisher, a Roman Presbyter and a Roman Cardinal, as a matter altogether hopeless.

Punishment in Purgatory, says Father Barns, *is a doctrine seated in human opinion. Neither from Scripture, nor from the Fathers, nor from the earlier Councils, can it be firmly deduced. Nay, with submission to better judgment, the contrary opinion seems more conformable to them*².

¹ Qui (Christus) futurus esset fundamentum credentium in eum, super quod prout quisque superstruxerit dignam scilicet vel indignam doctrinam, si opus ejus per ignem probabitur, si merces illi per ignem rependetur, Creatoris est: quia per ignem indicatur vestra superædificatio, utique sui fundamenti, id est, sui Christi. Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. v. § 11. Oper. p. 304.

² Punitio ergo in Purgatorio est res in opinione humana posita: quæ, nec ex Scripturis nec Patribus nec Conciliis, deduci potest firmiter. Immo, salvo meliore judicio, opposita sententia eis conformior videtur. Barn. Catholico-Rom. Pacif. sect. ix. litt. D, ad fin. Paralip. cited by Stillingfleet. The

Many, perhaps, says Cardinal Fisher of Rochester, are induced not to place so great a confidence in indulgences, because their use in the Church seems to be more recent, and because it has only very lately been found among Christians. To these I answer, that we cannot certainly determine with whom they first originated. Among the ancients, there was either no mention, or at least very rare mention, of Purgatory: and, to this day, the Greeks believe not in its existence¹. Nor was the belief either of Purgatory or of Indulgences so necessary in the primitive Church, as it now is. While there

learned Prelate mentions also Alphonsus a Castro, Polydore, Petrus a Soto, Perionius, Bulenger, and Petrus Picherellus, as honestly making a similar confession. Among these, Picherellus says: *There is no fuel to be found in Scripture, either to kindle or to maintain the fire of Purgatory.* Picherell. de Missa. c. ii. p. 150.

¹ Thus determines the eminently learned Bishop Fisher of Rochester: let us now hear Bishop Trevern of Strasbourg.

ALL ANTIQUITY speaks of an intermediate place, where souls, before they enter into heaven, must be purified from the slightest stains of iniquity. Discuss. Amic. lett. xiii. vol. ii. p. 243. Note.

Dr. Trevern's comprehensive *Toute l'Antiquité*, even according to his own shewing, commences, not in the apostolic age, but with Cyprian and Origen, both of whom flourished about the middle of the third century: and, with respect to these two Fathers who are thus compelled to usher in ALL ANTIQUITY, Cyprian knew nothing of any doctrine of a Purgatory, and Origen's substitution of a temporary Purgatory in the place of an eternal hell was condemned by the fifth Ecumenical Council as an heretical and impious speculation.

was no care respecting Purgatory, there was no inquiry about Indulgences: for, on Purgatory, the whole estimation of Indulgences depends. Take away Purgatory: and what need will there be of Indulgences? Since, then, Purgatory was so lately known and received by the Catholic Church: who can wonder, that there should have been no use of Indulgences in the nascent Church at the beginning¹?

These confessions are abundantly honest and abundantly true: whether they be altogether political, is another question. The modern Romanists may, if they please, receive, with implicit cre-

¹ Multos, fortasse, movet indulgentiis istis non usqueadeo fidere, quod earum usus in Ecclesia videatur fuisse recentior, et admodum sero repertus apud Christianos. Quibus ego respondeo, non certo constare a quo primum tradi cœperunt. De purgatorio apud priscos nulla, vel quam rarissima, fiebat mentio. Sed et Græcis, ad hunc usque diem, non est creditum purgatorium esse. Nec tam necessaria fuit sive purgatorii seu indulgentiarum fides in primitiva Ecclesia, atque nunc est. Quamdiu nulla fuerat de purgatorio cura, nemo quæsit indulgentias: nam ex illo pendet omnis indulgentiarum existimatio. Si tollas purgatorium, quorsum indulgentiis opus erit? Quum, itaque, purgatorium tam sero cognitum ac receptum Ecclesiæ fuerit Universæ: quis jam de indulgentiis mirari potest, quod, in principio nascentis Ecclesiæ, nullus fuerit earum usus? Fisher. Roffens. cont. Luther. art. xviii. Oper. p. 496. Wirceburg. 1597.

There certainly is something, which closely approximates to the ludicrous, in this simple-minded or (as the French would expressively say) *naïve* confession of the worthy English Cardinal.

dulity, the doctrine of Purgatory, upon the mere strength of the tridentine decision in the sixteenth century: but its truth rests upon no evidence, either of canonical Scripture, or of the three first ages.

CHAPTER VI.

SAINT-WORSHIP, IMAGE-WORSHIP, RELIC-WORSHIP,
CROSS-WORSHIP.

THE Church of Rome inculcates upon her members, anathematising all those who presume to differ from her, *the worship of saints and images and relics and crosses.*

I have no special concern with those ingenious distinctions, between *Latria* and *Dulia*, between *Positive Worship* and *Relative Worship*, which she has devised for the purpose of escaping the very natural and obvious charge of gross idolatry; distinctions, which, in actual practice, and sometimes even in unreserved declarations of *certain exaggerating doctors* (as the Bishop of Strasbourg speaks ¹), are found but too often to vanish altogether; distinctions moreover, which, at least in the case of relative image-worship and cross-worship and relic-worship, have been borrowed from the strictly homogeneous theory of ancient

¹ See Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 274, 275.

Paganism¹: since the Roman Church declares, that that worship, however modified or disguised, was *always* prevalent in the Catholic and Apostolic Church, was received in the *primitive* times of the Christian Religion, was confirmed by the consent of the holy Fathers, and was ratified by the decrees of the sacred Councils; she undoubtedly, with whatever prudence, brings the alleged FACT of such *primeval* and *universal* worship to the simple test of historical investigation².

¹ Deos, inquitis, per simulachra veneramur—Fortasse dicitis: Quâ causâ? Quia nemo est in rebus humanis tam stolidè cæcus, qui, argentum, æs, aurum, gypsum, ebur, argillam, Deorum in numerum referat, ipsaque per se dicat vim habere atque obtinere divinam—Sed erras, inquitis, et laberis: nam neque nos æra, neque auri argenticque materias, neque alias quibus signa confiant, eas esse per se deos, et religiosa decernimus numina; sed eos in his colimus, eosque veneramur, quos dedicatio infert sacra, et fabrilibus efficit inhabitare simulachris. Arnob. adv. gent. lib. vi. p. 195. 200, 201. 203. Lugdun. Batav. 1651.

I can discern no difference, in point of principle, between the relative image-worship of Paganism and the relative image-worship of Popery. In fact, as any person will perceive who takes the trouble of reading it, the whole dispute of Arnobius with a Pagan is, when the mere names of the venerated objects are changed, the precise dispute of a Protestant with a Papist.

² Ἡ ἐβδόμη καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος γέγονεν, ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Εἰρήνης τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, —τριακοσίων ἐξηκόντα ἐπτὰ ἁγίων πατέρων, ἀθροισθέντων ἐν Νικαίᾳ τῆς Βιθυνίας, κατὰ τῶν εἰκονομάχων, ἡγούν χριστιανοκατηγόρων. "Ἦτις τὰς εἰκονικὰς ἐκτυπώσεις προσκυνεῖσθαι καὶ κατασπάξεσθαι σχετικῶς ἐψηφίσατο, ὁμοίως τῷ τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ τύπῳ, καὶ τῇ τῶν πιστῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ παρέδωκεν οὕτω σέβεσθαι τοὺς τύπους τοῦ προσλήμματος

Hence her ecclesiastics stand pledged, not only to receive and inculcate the practice upon the

τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τῆς αὐτὸν ἀσπόρως καὶ ἀρρήτως τεκούσης θεοτόκου, καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἁγίων ἀπάντων. Zonar. apud Bever. Synod. vol. i. p. 284. See also Concil. Nic. secund. act. i. Labb. Concil. vol. vii. p. 60, 61, 56, 57. act. vi. p. 541. act. vii. p. 556, 584.

Mandat sancta Synodus omnibus episcopis et cæteris docendi munus curamque sustinentibus, ut juxta Catholicæ et Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ usum, primævis Christianæ Religionis temporibus receptum, sanctorumque Patrum consensionem, et sacrorum Conciliorum decreta, in primis de Sanctorum intercessione, invocatione, Reliquiarum honore, et legitimo imaginum usu, fideles diligenter instruant; docentes eos, Sanctos, una cum Christo regnantes, orationes suas pro hominibus Deo offerre; bonum atque utile esse, suppliciter eos invocare; et, ob beneficia impetranda a Deo per filium ejus Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, qui solus noster Redemptor et Salvator est, ad eorum orationes, opem, auxiliumque, confugere: illos vero, qui negant Sanctos, æterna felicitate in cælo fruentes, invocandos esse; aut qui asserunt, vel illos pro hominibus non orare; vel eorum, ut pro nobis etiam singulis orent, invocationem esse idololatriam; vel pugnare cum verbo Dei, adversarique honori unius mediatoris Dei et hominum Jesu Christi; vel stultum esse, in cælo regnantibus, voce vel mente, supplicare; impiè sentire. Sanctorum quoque martyrum et aliorum cum Christo viventium sancta corpora, quæ viva membra fuerunt Christi et templum Spiritus Sancti, ab ipso ad æternam vitam suscitanda et glorificanda, a fidelibus veneranda esse; per quæ multa beneficia a Deo hominibus præstantur: ita ut affirmantes, Sanctorum reliquiis venerationem atque honorem non deberi; vel eas, aliaque sacra monumenta, a fidelibus inutiliter honorari; atque, eorum opis impetrandæ causa, Sanctorum memorias frustra frequentari; omnino damnandos esse, prout jam pridem eos damnavit, et nunc etiam damnat Ecclesia.

naked authority of the second Nicene Council in the eighth century and of the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century, but likewise to substantiate the alleged FACT of *the chronological universality and the apostolical origination of the practice itself.*

I. Now this task, somewhat mercilessly imposed by the Roman Church upon her Priesthood, can only be accomplished, partly by the evidence of Scripture, and partly by the concurrent unbroken testimony of the three first ages up to the very time of the earliest promulgation of Christianity.

Accordingly, the high enterprise of its accomplishment has, after this precise manner, been most magnanimously undertaken by Dr. Trevern and Mr. Berington ¹.

Imagines porro Christi, deiparæ Virginis, et aliorum Sanctorum, in templis præsertim habendas et retinendas; eisque debitum honorem et venerationem impertiendam: non quod credatur inesse aliqua in iis divinitas vel virtus, propter quam sint colendæ; vel quod ab eis sit aliquid petendum; vel quod fiducia in imaginibus sit figenda; veluti olim fiebat a gentibus, quæ in idolis spem suam collocabant: sed quoniam honos, qui eis exhibetur, refertur ad prototypa, quæ illæ repræsentant; ita ut, per imagines quas osculamur et coram quibus caput aperimus et procumbimus, Christum adoremus, et Sanctos, quorum illæ similitudinem gerunt, veneremur: id, quod, Conciliorum præsertim vero secundæ Nicænæ Synodi decretis contra imaginum oppugnatores, est sancitum. Concil. Trident. sess. xxv. p. 507, 508.

¹ Discuss. Amic. lett. xiv.—xvii. vol. ii. p. 265—387. Faith of Cathol. p. 414—417, 430—434, 427, 428.

1. The proof from Scripture, or from what the Tridentine Council with a splendid disregard of antiquity has pronounced to be Scripture, is asserted to be contained in the following several passages.

(1.) *Now, therefore, when thou didst pray, and Sarah thy daughter-in-law, I (the angel Raphael) did bring the remembrance of your prayers before the Holy One: and, when thou didst bury the dead, I was with thee likewise* ¹.

(2.) *This was his vision: that Onias, who had been high-priest, a virtuous and a good man, reverend in conversation, gentle in condition, well spoken also, and exercised from a child in all points of virtue, holding up his hands, prayed for the whole body of the Jews. This done, in like manner there appeared a man with gray hairs and exceeding glorious, who was of a wonderful and excellent majesty. Then Onias answered, saying: This is a lover of the brethren, who prayeth much for the people and for the holy city, to wit, Jeremias the prophet of God* ².

(3.) *I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons which need no repentance.—Likewise I say unto you: There is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth* ³.

¹ Tobit xii. 12.

² 2 Maccab. xv. 12—14.

³ Luke xv. 7. 10. In this passage, Mr. Berington, after the

(4.) *And, when he had taken the book, the four living creatures and the four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps and golden vials full of odours which are the prayers of saints* ¹.

(5.) *And he took the mantle of Elijah that fell from him; and smote the waters; and said: Where is the Lord God of Elijah? And, when he had smitten the waters, they parted hither and thither: and Elisha went over* ².

(6.) *And it came to pass as they were burying a man, that, behold, they spied a band of men: and they cast the man into the sepulchre of Elisha: and, when the man was let down and touched the bones of Elisha, he revived, and stood up on his feet* ³.

(7.) *And, behold, a woman, which was diseased with an issue of blood twelve years, came behind him, and touched the hem of his garment. For she said within herself: If I may but touch his garment, I shall be whole. But Jesus turned him about: and, when he saw her, he said: Daughter, be of good comfort; thy faith hath made thee whole. And the woman was made whole from that hour* ⁴.

manner of his school of Theology, very ludicrously and very inaccurately translates *μετανοοῦντι* and *μετανοίας*, by the english *doing penance* and *penance*: just as if our Lord was enjoining one of the bodily penances of a modern roman devotee. The original Greek, as every schoolboy knows, has nothing to do with bodily austerities: it means, solely and exclusively, that change of mind which we call *repentance*.

¹ Rev. v. 8.

² 2 Kings ii. 14.

³ 2 Kings xiii. 21.

⁴ Matt. ix. 20—22.

(8.) *And believers were the more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women: insomuch that they brought forth the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches; that, at the least, the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them*¹.

(9.) *And God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul: so that from his body were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons; and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them*².

(10.) *Thou shalt make two cherubim of gold: of beaten work shalt thou make them, in the two ends of the mercy-seat*³.

(11.) *And the Lord said unto Moses: Make thee a fiery serpent, and set it upon a pole: and it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it, shall live. And Moses made a serpent of brass, and put it upon a pole: and it came to pass, that, if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived*⁴.

(12.) *He removed the high places, and brake the images, and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces the brasen serpent that Moses had made; for, unto those days, the children of Israel did burn incense to it: and he called it *A thing of brass**⁵.

(13.) *And he carved all the walls of the house round about with carved figures of cherubim and*

¹ Acts v. 14, 15.

² Ibid. xix. 11, 12.

³ Exod. xxv. 18.

⁴ Numb. xxi. 8, 9.

⁵ 2 Kings xviii. 4.

*palm-trees and open flowers, within and without—The two doors also were of olive-tree : and he carved upon them carvings of cherubim and palm-trees and open flowers ; and overlaid them with gold*¹.

(14.) *And he made a molten sea—And it stood upon twelve oxen—And, on the borders that were between the ledges, were lions, oxen, and cherubim*².

2. The proof from the testimony of the three first centuries, the cogency of which obviously depends upon its distinctness, its copiousness, its universality, and its immediate contact with the apostolic age, is discovered in the several passages following, extracted from the narrative of the martyrdom of Polycarp and from the writings of Irèneus and Tertullian and Cyprian³.

¹ 1 Kings vi. 29, 32.

² Ibid. vii. 23, 25, 29.

³ Dr. Trevern and Mr. Berington cite also certain passages from Origen : but, as they exist only in a latin translation, and as they are of themselves (even as they stand in that translation) of small evidential relevancy and importance ; I omit them, agreeably to the plan which I have distinctly laid down and which I have invariably followed.

I. They likewise cite Chrysostom and Eusebius and the Acts of the Martyrs in Ruinart, for the purpose of shewing ; that *the relics of Ignatius were carried back into the East after his martyrdom at Rome*, and that *the genuine chair of St. James was greatly revered in the fourth century*.

But such evidence as this, as it bears not upon the question of *apostolically ordained relic-worship* so it is far too late to be of any legitimate historical importance. Very probably, the bones of Ignatius might have been carried back to Antioch, decently wrapped up in a linen-cloth (*ἐν λίνῳ κατετέθη*) as the unknown author of the Acts of his Martyrdom says, for the

(1.) *When the envious and the wicked one, the adversary of the race of the just, says the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna, saw the greatness of*

natural purpose of christian burial in the seat of his bishopric; and I make no doubt, that, in the fourth century, fruitful as it was after the conversion of Constantine in imaginary relics, the chair of St. James was as duly shewn to the curious in such matters as the true cross of Christ so happily discovered by Helena and so ingeniously distinguished from the two concomitant crosses of the two thieves (Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 13. Ruffin. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 7.): but I see not, how all this is to prove the *apostolical* origin of relic-worship.

II. Dr. Trevern moreover assures us, on the authority of Justin Martyr, who flourished before and after the year 150 and who had been instructed in the faith by the contemporaries of St. John, that Christians, even at that early period, were wont to turn to the east and to sign themselves with the indispensable sign of the cross. Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 378.

Truly, the diligent reader of Justin will hugely marvel, from which of his writings Dr. Trevern learned this notable piece of information. With astonishing ignorance or with resolute dishonesty (I pretend not to determine *which*) the Bishop of Strasbourg refers his english laic friend to a Work, which he liberally gives to Justin, but which in good sooth was written by some unknown author *at least* a full century after Justin was dead and laid in his grave. The book, entitled *Questions and Answers to the Orthodox*, is printed, indeed, among the Works of Justin: but, as every person acquainted with the writings of the Fathers well knows, Justin had no more concern in its manufactory than Dr. Trevern himself. A production, which the criticism of that Prelate ascribes to Justin and the middle of the *second* century, actually no less than twice refers to Origen who flourished about the middle of the *third* century. See Quæst. et Respons. lxxxii, lxxxvi. in Oper. Justin. p. 342, 344.

Polycarp's martyrdom ;—he laboured industriously, that his remains might not be taken away by us— Hence he suggested to Nicetas to intercede with the governor, that his body should not be delivered for sepulture : lest, said he, leaving him that was crucified, they should begin to worship this person. And these things they said at the suggestion and instigation of the Jews, who also watched us when we were about to take him from the fire : inasmuch as they were ignorant, that neither can we ever forsake Christ who suffered for the salvation of the saved throughout the whole world, the sinless for sinners, nor that we can ever worship any other. For him, being the Son of God, we adore : but the martyrs, as disciples and imitators of the Lord, we worthily love on account of their special affection to their own king and master ; with whom may we be partakers and fellow-disciples ! But the centurion, beholding the contention excited by the Jews, threw him into the midst of the fire and burned him. And thus we, afterward gathering up his bones more honourable than precious stones and more tried than gold, deposited them where it naturally followed that we should deposit them. To us assembling in this place so far as lies in our power, with triumph and with joy, the Lord will grant to celebrate the birth-day of his martyrdom, both in memory of those who have completed their wrestling, and for the exercise and preparation of those who are about to wrestle ¹.

¹ Ὁ δὲ ἀντίζηλος καὶ βιάσκανος καὶ πονηρός, ὁ ἀντικείμενος τῷ

(2.) *As Eve, says Irenæus, by the discourse of a fallen angel, was seduced to apostatise from God, disobeying his word: so Mary, by the discourse of a good angel, was evangelised, that she should bear God in her womb, obedient to his word. And, as the former was seduced to disobey God: so the latter was persuaded to obey God; in order that the*

γένει τῶν δικαίων, ἰδὼν τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς μαρτυρίας,—ἐπετή-
 δευσεν, ὡς μηδὲ τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ληφθείη—Υπέβαλε
 γοῦν Νικήτην ἐντυχεῖν τῷ ἄρχοντι, ὥστε μὴ δοῦναι αὐτοῦ τὸ
 σῶμα ταφῆ· μὴ, φησὶν, ἀφέντες τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, τοῦτον ἄρξων-
 ται σέβεσθαι. Καὶ ταῦτα εἶπον, ὑποβαλλόντων καὶ ἐπισχύοντων
 Ἰουδαίων, οἳ καὶ ἐτήρησαν, μελλόντων ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς λαμβά-
 νειν· ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι οὔτε τὸν Χριστὸν ποτε καταλιπεῖν δυνασό-
 μεθα, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τῶν σωζομένων σωτηρίας
 παθόντα, ἄμωμον ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτῶλων, οὔτε ἕτερόν τινα σέβεσθαι.
 Τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ, υἱὸν ὄντα τοῦ Θεοῦ, προσκυνοῦμεν· τοὺς δὲ μάρ-
 τυρας, ὡς μαθητὰς καὶ μιμητὰς τοῦ Κυρίου, ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως,
 ἕνεκα ἐνοίας ἀνυπερβλήτου τῆς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον βασιλεία καὶ διδάσ-
 καλον· ὧν γένοιτο καὶ ἡμᾶς κοινωνοὺς τε καὶ συμμαθητὰς γενέσθαι.
 Ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ ἐκατόνταρχος τῶν Ἰουδαίων γενομένην φιλονεικίαν,
 θείς αὐτὸν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ πυρὸς ἔκαυσεν. Οὕτω τε ἡμεῖς ὕστερον
 ἀνελόμενοι τὰ τιμιώτερα λίθων πολυτελῶν καὶ δοκιμώτερα ὑπὲρ
 χρυσὸν ὅσα αὐτοῦ, ἀπεθέμεθα ὅπου καὶ ἀκόλουθον ἦν. Ἐνθα
 ὡς δυνατὸν ἡμῖν συναγομένοις, ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ χαρᾷ παρέξει
 ὁ Κύριος ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον, εἰς
 τὴν τῶν ἠθληκῶν μνήμην, καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἄσκησίν τε καὶ
 ἐτοιμασίαν. Epist. Eccles. Smyrn. § 17, 18. in Patr. Apost.
 Cotel. vol. ii. p. 201, 202.

Mr. Berington rightly understands the Smyrnæans to have buried the bones of Polycarp: Dr. Trevern, more ingenious, learns from Acts viii. 2, that the early believers, under the very sanction of the Apostles, preserved and revered the relics of the protomartyr? Stephen. For an account of this remarkable discovery, see Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 311.

*Virgin Mary might thence become the advocate of the virgin Eve. Thus, as the human race was doomed to death through a virgin: so the human race might be delivered also through a virgin; the balance being equally held, between the disobedience of one virgin, and the obedience of another*¹.

(3.) *You may begin, says Tertullian, from parables: where there is the lost sheep, sought for by the Lord and carried back upon his shoulders. Let the very pictures of your cups be produced: if, even in them, the interpretation of that animal will clearly shine forth*².—*In all our movements, whether we come in or whether we go out, whether we put on our raiment or whether we bind on our sandals, in the bath, at the table, while using either lights or beds or couches, in whatever fashion we may be employed, we wear our forehead with the*

¹ Quemadmodum enim illa per angelicum sermonem seducta est, ut effugeret Deum prævaricata verbum ejus: ita et hæc per angelicum sermonem evangelizata est, ut portaret Deum, obediens ejus verbo. Et, sicut illa seducta est ut effugeret Deum: sic hæc suasa est obedire Deo, uti virginis Evæ virgo Maria fieret advocata. Et, quemadmodum adstrictum est morti genus humanum per virginem: solvatur per virginem, æqua lance disposita virginalis inobedientiæ per virginalem obedientiam. Iren. adv. hæc. lib. v. c. 16. p. 340, 341.

For a right understanding of this tasteless tissue of unmeaning antitheses, compare Iren. adv. hæc. lib. iii. c. 33. p. 221.

² A parabolis licebit incipias, ubi est ovis perdita, a Domino requisita, et humeris ejus revecta. Procedant ipsæ picturæ calicum vestrorum, si vel in illis perlucebit interpretatio pecudis illius. Tertull. de pudic. Oper. p. 748.

*sign of the cross. If, for these and the like points of discipline, you demand scriptural authority: truly you will find none. Tradition will be alleged to you, as their voucher: custom, as their confirmer: faith, as their observer*¹.

(4.) *Let us, says Cyprian, be mindful of each other in our prayers: let us be concordant and unanimous: let us always mutually pray for one another: let us, by mutual charity, relieve our troubles and distresses. And, whosoever, through the celerity of the divine favour, shall first depart, let our love persevere with the Lord: for our brethren and for our sisters, let not our prayer cease with the mercy of the Father*².—*Bravely endure: spiritually advance: happily arrive. Only remember us then, when in you virginity shall begin to be honoured*³.

¹ Ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum et exitum, ad vestitum et calceatum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quacunque nos conversatio exercet, frontem crucis signaculo terimus. Harum et aliarum ejusmodi disciplinarum si legem expostules scripturarum, nullam invenies: traditio tibi prætendetur autrix; consuetudo, confirmatrix; et fides, observatrix. Tertull. de coron. milit. § 3. Oper. p. 449.

² Memores nostri invicem simus, concordés atque unanimes: utrobique pro nobis semper oremus: pressuras et angustias mutua caritate revelemus. Et quis istinc nostrum prior divinæ dignationis celeritate præcesserit, perseveret apud Dominum nostra dilectio: pro fratribus et sororibus nostris, apud misericordiam Patris, non cesset oratio. Cyprian. Epist. lx. Oper. vol. ii. p. 143.

³ Durate fortiter: spiritaliter pergite: pervenite feliciter.

II. Such is the Romish case, as made out from canonical Scripture, from the unsafe Apocrypha, and from the ecclesiastical writings of the three first centuries.

1. The facts, to be substantiated, were: that *The invocation of saints and the relative worship of images and relics and crosses, as propounded and defined by the Councils of Nice and Trent, are inculcated in Scripture; and that, accordingly, On scriptural authority, such practices universally and notoriously prevailed in the Catholic Church, during the first centuries, up to the very time of Christ and his Apostles.*

But, respecting this invocation and respecting this relative worship, not a single syllable is said by any one of the witnesses produced, whether from Scripture, or from the Apocrypha, or from the ecclesiastical writings of the first three centuries.

Mr. Berington himself, indeed, is evidently in despair, though he puts the best face upon the matter that he can.

Speaking of images and crosses, he says: *It cannot be necessary, that, on this subject, I should adduce any authorities from the Fathers, which would prove: that, In the early ages, particularly from the time of Constantine, painted representations of mysterious facts, of the cross, of the lives of*

Tantum mementote tunc nostri, cum incipiet in vobis virginitas honorari. Cyprian. de habit. virgin. Oper. vol. i. p. 103.

*saints, were exhibited in the places of public worship*¹.

With *his* views, and with the avowed object of *his* Work, I should have thought, that the production of authorities up to the apostolic age, for the purpose of substantiating the alleged fact, not merely of the *exhibition* of images and crosses and pictures, but of their *relative worship* on the part of the faithful as inculcated by the Councils of Nice and Trent, was, in truth, the very reverse of unnecessary. That Mr. Berington can produce abundant authorities from the time of Constantine downward, I make no manner of doubt: for the Church had then begun rapidly to degenerate into that unhallowed superstition, by which so widely in extent she has ever since been disfigured. But he must recollect, that the question is not, *What might be the belief and practice of the fourth or fifth or sixth or seventh centuries*, but *What was the belief and practice of the primitive Church up to the time of the Apostles founded professedly upon the teaching of inspiration*. Yet the adduction of authorities, to this latter effect, Mr. Berington actually pronounces to be *quite unnecessary*. That it was *out of his power* to produce them, is sufficiently manifest: that their production is *unnecessary*, he will persuade no person who in the slightest degree understands the nature of historical testimony. The adduction of such evidence

¹ Faith of Cathol. p. 428.

is *the precise matter, which we require* : Mr. Berington assures us, that *it cannot be necessary*.

2. But, if it be impossible to substantiate the invocation of saints and the relative worship of images and relics and crosses, as defined by the two Councils of Nice and Trent, either from Scripture or from the Apocrypha or from the writings of the three first centuries : still less can such invocation and such worship be substantiated, as they practically exist or have existed in the gross form of absolute idolatry.

Those modern Romanists, who come in contact with scriptural Protestantism, are wont to assert : that their invocation of the saints is a mere request, that they would pray on their behalf ; that the relative worship of images is simply the appropriate worship, whether *Latria* or *Dulia*, of the objects represented by such images, for the images themselves contain or possess no divine potency ; that the relative worship of relics is nothing more than a natural affectionate veneration, on the principle of what are commonly styled *keepsakes*, for whatever has belonged to an eminently pious individual ; and that the relative worship of the cross is but the ultimate worship of the incarnate Deity who was crucified.

Thus, for instance, complacently glozes the Bishop of Strasbourg to the English laic, whom he is attempting to proselyte. But, even to say nothing of the total want of authority, either scriptural or primitive, for such vain notions and

performances : how stands the matter, in respect to the fact of *naked actual practice* ?

The very prayers, publicly used in the Latin Church, both before the Reformation and after the Reformation, supplicate the Virgin and the Saints, not merely to *intercede* for believers (as, while in the flesh, Christians are directed to *pray* for each other) ; but absolutely to *grant* to them those holy gifts and graces, and to *impart* to them that needful spiritual strength and assistance, which God *only* can bestow ¹. Dr. Trevern him-

¹ Sancta Dei genetrix, quæ dignè meruisti concipere quem totus orbis nequivit comprehendere ; tuo pio interventu, culpas nostras ablue, ut perennis sedem gloriæ per te redempti, valeamus scandere, ubi manes cum filio tuo sine tempore. Collect. in Hor. ad usum Sacrum. Paris. 1520. fol. 4. Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. vol. ii. p. 143.

Sancta Maria, succurre miseris, juva pusillanimos, refove flebiles, ora pro populo, interveni pro clero, intercede pro devoto fœmineo sexu. Ibid. fol. 30.

Mariam primam vox sonet nostra, per quam nobis vitæ sunt data præmia : regina quæ es mater et casta, solve nostra per filium peccamina : angelorum concio sacra, et archangelorum turma inclyta, nostra diluant jam peccata præstando sup̄ernam cœli gratiam. Ibid. fol. 80.

Virgo singularis, inter omnes mitis, nos, culpis solutos, mites fac et castos. Vitam præsta puram ; iter para tutum : ut, videntes Jesum, semper collætetur. Ibid. fol. 33.

Consolare peccatorem : et ne tuum des honorem alieno vel crudeli, precor te, regina cœli. Me habeto excusatum, apud Christum tuum natum, cujus iram expavesco, et furorem pertimesco, nam peccavi tibi soli. O Maria virgo, noli esse mihi aliena, gratia cœlesti plena : esto custos cordis mei : signa me timore Dei : confer vitæ sanitatem : et da morum honestatem :

self, with what consistence it matters not, cites approbatively, and adduces authoritatively, Cyril

da peccata me vitare : et, quod justum est, amare ; O dulcedo virginalis : nunquam fuit, nec est, talis. Ibid. fol. 44.

Georgi, martyr inclyte, te decet laus et gloria, prædotatum militia ; per quem puella regia, existens in tristitia, coram dracone pessimo, salvata est. Et animo te rogamus, corde intimo, ut, cum cunctis fidelibus, cœli jungamur civibus, nostris abluti sordibus : ut simul, cum lætitia, tecum simus in gloria ; nostraque reddant labia laudes Christo cum gloria. Ibid. fol. 77.

Martyr Christophore, pro Salvatoris honore, fac nos mente fore dignos Deitatis honore. Promisso Christi, quia quod petis obtinuisti, da populo tristi dona quæ moriendo petisti. Confer solamen, et mentis tolle gravamen. Judicis examen fac mite sit omnibus. Amen. Ibid. fol. 77.

O Willielme, pastor bone, cleri pater et patrone, munda nobis in agone : confer opem ; et depone vitæ sordes ; et coronæ cœlestis da gaudia. Ibid. fol. 78.

O vos, undena millia, puellæ gloriosæ, virginitatis lilia, martyrii rosæ, in vita me defendite, præbendo mihi juvamen : in morte vos ostendite, supremum ferendo solamen. Ibid. fol. 80.

Maria, mater gratiæ, mater misericordiæ, tu nos ab hoste protege, et hora mortis suscipe. Solve vincla reis : profer lumen cæcis : mala nostra pelle : bona cuncta posce. Monstra te esse matrem : sumat per te preces, qui, pro nobis, natus tulit esse tuus. Offic. parv. beat. Mariæ. p. 127.

In the mass-book, printed at Paris 1634, the grossly offensive idea, set forth in this prayer, is again propounded in slightly varied phraseology. Jure matris, impera Redemptori.

I reverence you, O sacred virgin Mary, the holy ark of the covenant : and, together with all the good thoughts of all good men upon earth and all the blessed spirits in heaven, do bless and praise you infinitely, for that you are the great mediatrix between God and man, obtaining for sinners all they can ask and demand of the blessed Trinity. Hail Mary ! The Devot. of the sacred heart of Jesus, including the devot. to the sacred

of Alexandria as erecting St. John into a second Holy Ghost, Gregory Nazianzen as praying for

heart of the blessed virgin Mary ; with an appendix, and the indult of his holiness Pius VII. in favour of it : for the use of the midland district. Edit. 12. Keating and Brown. 1821. p. 293.

O holy Mary, our sovereign queen, as God the Father, by his omnipotence, has made thee most powerful ; so assist us, at the hour of our death, by defending us against all power that is contrary to thine. Hail Mary ! O holy Mary, our sovereign queen, as God the Son has endowed thee with so much knowledge and charity that it enlightens all heaven ; so, in the hour of death, illustrate and strengthen our souls with the knowledge of the true faith, that they may not be perverted by error or pernicious ignorance. Hail Mary ! O holy Virgin, our sovereign queen, as the Holy Ghost has plentifully poured forth into thee the love of God ; so instil into us, at the hour of death, the sweetness of divine love, that all bitterness at that time may become acceptable and pleasant to us. Hail Mary. *Ibid.* p. 212, 213.

Hail Mary, lady and mistress of the world, to whom all power has been given both in heaven and in earth ! *Ibid.* p. 206.

Angelical youth, Aloysius,—for the love thou hadst for Christ crucified and his most blessed mother, receive me as thy client and obedient servant : aid and assist me in the pursuit of virtue and learning : nourish and increase in me a purity of mind and manners : turn off all the snares laid against my chastity : ward and defend me against the dangers of the world : inspire my heart with a true and filial confidence in the ever blessed virgin Mary, the mother of good counsels : govern and direct me in my choice of a state of life. *Ibid.* p. 348, 349.

Glorieuse et immaculée vierge Marie, très-digne fille du Père, très-digne mère du Fils, très-digne épouse du St. Esprit, souvenez-vous que nous vous sommes entièrement dévoués : n'oubliez pas que vous êtes notre protectatrice auprès de

illumination and direction to Basil and Cyprian and Athanasius, Basil himself as invoking the saints for deliverance in adversity and for grace in prosperity, and Asterius as beseeching Phocas to grant unto him an abundant entrance into the kingdom of heaven¹. James Naclantus Bishop of Clugium, without the slightest recorded censure either from Pope or from Cardinal or from Council, in the sixteenth century averred, as the

Dieu, et ne permettez pas que nous mourions dans le péché mortel. Tableaux de la sainte Messe. Paris. chez H. Vauquelin. p. 14.

Mon S. Ange gardien, et vous mes bienheureux patrons auprès de Dieu, obtenez-moi, par votre crédit, le pardon de mes péchés avec la grâce de vivre et de mourir saintement. Ibid. p. 7.

Alma Redemptoris mater, quæ pervia cœli porta manes et stella maris; succurre cadenti, surgere qui curat, populo: tu, quæ genuisti, natura mirante, tuum sanctum genitorem: virgo prius ac posterius, Gabrielis ab ore sumens illud Ave, peccatorum miserere. Ibid. p. 115.

Ave, regina cœlorum; ave, domina angelorum; salve, radix, salve, porta; ex qua mundo lux est orta. Gaude, virgo gloriosa, super omnes speciosa: vale, O valde decora, et pro nobis Christum exora. Ibid. p. 116.

Salve, regina, mater misericordiæ; vita, dulcedo, et spes nostra, salve. Ad te clamamus, exules filii Evæ. Ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes in hac lachrymarum valle. Eia ergo, advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte. Et Jesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui, nobis post hoc exilium ostende; O clemens, O pia, O dulcis, virgo Maria! Ibid. p. 117.

¹ See Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 281—287. For the credit of the Church after Constantine, I wish to hope, that these fooleries are not deliberate prayers but only rhetorical apostro-

true sense of the Nicene Fathers, that the faithful ought to adore the very image itself, with the identical worship, whether *Latria* or *Dulia* or *Hyperdulia*, which they offered up to the prototype of the image: so that, if the image represented Christ, it was to receive the self-same adoration as the second person of the blessed Trinity¹. Peter de Medrano asserted, that, by a special privilege, the Virgin is present in her images personally and physically and really: in order that, from the faithful, she might, in those images, receive due adoration². According to Basil and Theodo-

phisations. I need scarcely remark, that they occur not during the three first centuries.

¹ Ergo non solum fatendum est, fideles in ecclesia adorare coram imagine, ut nonnulli ad cautelam forte loquuntur; sed et adorare imaginem, sine quo volueris scrupulo: quin et eo illam venerantur cultu, quo et prototypon ejus. Propter quod, si illud habet adorare latria; et illa, latria: si dulia vel hyperdulia; et illa pariter ejusmodi cultu adoranda est. Jacob. Naclant. Clug. Expos. Epist. ad Roman. cap. i. cited in Homil. iii. against peril of idolatry. p. 197. Oxon. 1802. For the exactly similar decision of Biel, see below, book ii. chap. 6. in init. note.

² Dicendum sit, concessum deiparæ dominæ privilegium assistendi physicè et realiter in aliquibus suis simulachris seu imaginibus:—quod, in aliquibus simulachris seu imaginibus insignibus ipsius, piè credatur assistere adesseque personaliter physicè et realiter:—ut in illis debitas adorationes recipiat a fidelibus cultoribus. R. P. Petri de Medran. Rosetum Theolog. p. 311. Hispal. 1702. cited in Life of Bp. Pecoock. p. 79.

I. We have here the true *rationalè* of the superstition, which makes the image of a saint in *one* place so much more fashionable and reputedly potent than the image of the self-same

ret and Chrysostom and Gennadius and Euagrius and Gregory the great and Gregory of Nyssa, all

saint in *another* place: *THIS puppet is thought to possess more of the present demigod, than THAT puppet.*

Were it otherwise, why should a *celebrated* image attract crowds of devotees and draw to itself a superfluity of rich donations; while its *rustic* village counterpart is consigned to neglect and poverty, until some lucky stroke of a dexterous priest or some cleverly managed miracle shall at once introduce it to unexpected wealth and notoriety?

II. Here likewise we have the true *rationalè* of the parallel superstition, that well-dressed Madonnas occasionally move their eyes or shed tears or sweat or bleed or even speak, and that wooden Bambinos sometimes descend from their niches for the useful purpose of making sundry erratic excursions.

Thus good Peter de Medrano tells us, respecting the images of our Lady del Aviso and of Pity, in the highly privileged colleges of Lima and Callaya: *Non semel in miraculosum sudorem lachrymasque resolutæ sunt.*

But yet more wonderful are the exploits of the miraculous image of our Lady del Rosario, the patroness of Lima and all Peru, as detailed by this same Peter. *Sæpe refulsit auricomis solaribus radiis: atque, in varios aspectus, veneratione amore et timore dignos, divinum vultum transmutavit.* Roset. Theol. p. 311.

Of a similar character was the image of the Virgin, which reprimanded the heedless Pope Gregory for passing by her too carelessly; the crucifix which spoke to St. Bridgit; and the graven Madonna, which highly commended the piety of one of her votaries to the voracious sexton of the church. Rom. Modern. gior. 5. Mabill. D. Italic. p. 133. Durant. de rit. lib. i. c. 5. cited in Middleton's Lett. from Rome p. 203.

III. In all these cases of imposture, the *rationalè* was the diligently inculcated doctrine, ridiculed of old by Arnobius in reference to Paganism: that *The prototype was physically and really and personally present in the representative puppet.*

of whom are by Dr. Trevern deemed unquestionable authorities, the relics of the saints are not only useful as exciting devotional reminiscences : but they are likewise mighty ramparts, which are capable of protecting towns from the military assaults of their enemies ; they are champions, by whom all disasters are turned away from us ; they are strong rocks, which dissipate and nullify the snares of unseen demons and all the craftiness of Satan ; they possess such astonishing virtues, that the very touch even of the shrine which contains them will bring down a blessing, and that the touch of the relics themselves will accomplish all the desires of those who are admitted to so great a favour ¹. Lastly, in the Roman Breviary, gross

Sed erras et laberis, says the pagan image-worshipper : nam neque nos æra, neque auri argentique materias, neque alias quibus signa confiunt, eas esse per se deos, et religiosa decernimus numina ; sed eos in his colimus, eosque veneramus, quos dedicatio infert sacra, et fabrilibus efficit inhabitare simulachris. Arnob. adv. gent. lib. vi. p. 203.

Arnobius replies, precisely as I should reply to Peter de Medrano and his image-worshipping fellows of the Latin Church.

Non improba neque aspernabilis ratio, qua possit quis tardus necnon et prudentissimus credere, deos, relictis sedibus propriis, id est cœlo, non recusare nec fugere habitacula inire terrena : quinimo, jure dedicationis impulsos, simulachrorum coalescere junctioni. In gypso ergo mansitant, atque in testulis, dii vestri ? Quinimo testularum et gypsi, mentes, spiritus, atque animæ, dii sunt ? Atque, ut fieri augustiores vilissimæ res possint, concludi se patiuntur et in sedis obscuræ coërcitatione latitare ? Ibid.

¹ Basil. Homil. xx. in quadrag. martyr. Homil. xxvi. de

and direct adoration is offered to the cross : for the senseless wood is not only celebrated, as our

mart. Mamant. Oper. vol. i. p. 533, 600, 601. Theodor. de græc. affect. curat. serm. viii. Oper. vol. iv. p. 593, 594, 600. Chrysostom. Homil. xxxii. in Epist. ad Rom. Oper. vol. ix. p. 759. Homil. lxxix. in Petr. et Paul. Oper. vol. i. p. 856. Homil. lxx. Encom. martyr. Ægypt. Oper. vol. i. p. 869. Gennad. de vir. illus. c. vi. Euagr. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 13. Gregor. Magn. Epist. lib. vii. epist. 23. Gregor. Nyss. in quadrag. martyr. orat. iii. Gregor. Nyss. de martyr. Theod.

I. The two most curious specimens of reliquary superstition are those mentioned by Gennadius and Euagrius, as referred to above.

1. From the former we learn, that Nisibis, being a frontier town, and thence liable to be attacked by the enemies of the Roman Empire, was fortified by the Emperor Constantine with the body of holy James its defunct bishop ; who, for the express purpose of defending it from hostile assaults, was carefully buried within its walls.

2. By the latter we are taught, that, for a similar military purpose, the body of holy Symeon the stylite, with his iron chain, was conveyed to Antioch. Here his credit as an efficacious champion rose so high, that the Emperor Leo, anxious for the security of his dominions, wished to obtain from the Antiochians this cheap and therefore peculiarly valuable defence : but the prudent citizens knew too well their own interest to part with it. *Our city has no walls* ; was their reply, as recorded by Euagrius : *hence we brought hither the most holy body of Symeon, that it might serve us in the stead both of wall and of bulwark*. Their pleaded reason was so satisfactory to the judicious Leo, that he forthwith assented to their wishes. Euagrius adds, that many parts of the body remained to his own time, and that he himself had been privileged to see the head. He further remarks, that, during the episcopate of Gregory, Philippicus solicited a loan of the holy relics, that so he might with the greater safety make a military expedition into the East.

exclusive hope; but it is actually supplicated, to increase righteousness to the pious, and to grant pardon to the guilty¹.

3. With respect to the Saints in glory, it is far from *improbable*, that, like their suffering brethren in this world, they may pray, in general terms, for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth. Of this, however, we *know* nothing: because nothing has been *revealed*.

But, let their own free and spontaneous practice, on behalf of the Church at large, be what it may: we have no warrant either from Scripture or from primitive Antiquity, to *invoke* them, with the special purpose of obtaining their intercessory prayers either for ourselves or for any other individuals: and, if, like the Romanists, we adopt

II. Yet says the Bishop of Strasbourg, after stating his own speculation that relics are only a sort of edifying religious keepsakes: *These are our sentiments: nor have we ever entertained any other. If a person believes that we hold a different opinion, he deceives himself. Men talk of erroneous and superstitious notions, which we have often taken up concerning relics: but I have never been able to discover them.* Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 309, 310.

An English layman, whose studies had run in a totally different line, might probably have found himself unable to contradict Dr. Trevern, and might thence have been led implicitly to receive his grossly inaccurate assertion. Hence it is by no means useless to expose, in their true colours, such attempts at imposition.

¹ O crux ave, spes unica, hoc passionis tempore, auge piis justitiam, reisque dona veniam. Breviar. Rom. Hebdom. 4. Quadrages. die sabbat.

the habit of any such unauthorised invocation ; we can never be certain, that we are not guilty of the idle folly of supplicating those who hear us not¹. The mighty difference, between a *general belief* (if, *without authority however*, we choose to take up such a belief) *that the Saints in glory spontaneously pray for Christians in general*, and *invocations actually addressed to them with the purpose of obtaining their special prayers for our individual selves in particular*, is so palpable and so strongly marked, that it is evident even to the meanest comprehension. In truth, the matter is very honestly and very handsomely confessed by Cardinal Cajetan : for he destroys at one blow the whole system of invoking the saints, by the open acknowledgment, that *we have no means of certainly knowing whether the Saints hear our prayers, though we piously believe this to be the case*².

¹ Dr. Trevern would argue, that, if a knowledge of distant transactions, and even a power of reading the human heart, might from God be communicated to Elisha and to Peter upon earth : why may not the same power, to any extent which God shall deem expedient, be communicated to the saints in heaven ? Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 266, 267.

Nothing can be more idle, than such childish sophistry. The question is not, what God *may* do, but what he *has* done. Let Dr. Trevern and his friends prove from revelation, that God *has* communicated to the saints in glory a portion of his own peculiar knowledge, and that he *has* required us to invoke them for the personal benefit of their intercession : and the dispute will *then* terminate triumphantly in favour of Romanism.

² Certa ratione nescimus, an sancti nostra vota cognoscant

The firm belief in a point, the truth of which we have no means of certainly knowing, is, I fear, more closely allied to folly than to piety: for *my* purpose, however, the fair acknowledgment of the learned Cardinal is amply sufficient.

4. Let us now finally return to the question of evidence: which the bold claim of primitive antiquity, so rashly put forth by the Tridentine Conventicle, has constituted an especial question between Papalists and Protestants.

(1.) Unable to produce any genuine conclusive testimony, the Latins, at one period, built much upon a pretended Apostolical Council at Antioch: in a canon of which, not only the use, but the very worship, of images, is exhibited as authorised by the Apostles.

The credit of this Synod was, in their day, strenuously defended by Baronius and Binius and other writers of the same stamp¹. But the learned Jesuit Petavius, much to his credit, fairly confesses, that the alleged canon, which is to establish image-worship upon apostolical authority, is nothing better than a forgery²: and, in strict ac-

quamvis piè hoc credamus. Cajetan. in secundam secund. quæst. lxxxviii. art. 5.

¹ Baron. Annal. A.D. 102, n. 19, 20. Bin. Not. in Concil. Antioch. Concil. vol. i. p. 62.

² Quod ad illum canonem apostolicum attinet, quem primus edidit in lucem Franciscus Turrianus, eum puto supposititium esse. Petav. Dogmat. Theol. de Incarn. lib. xv. c. 14. n. 5.

cordance with this honest confession, he pronounces it to be a matter of absolute certainty, that, in the first ages of the Church, images of Christ were not substituted in the place of pagan idols, nor proposed to the veneration of the faithful¹.

(2.) A similar confession, with respect to the invocation of saints, is made by Cardinal Perron.

He owns, that no traces of such a practice can be found in the authors who lived nearest to the times of the Apostles: but, for this indisputable and acknowledged fact, he would account by the allegation, that most of the writings of that early age have perished².

The remains of more than twenty of the Fathers of the three first centuries have come down to us; some, to a very great amount of copiousness; others, in the form of fragments more or less extensive: and, from the smallness of the benefit which *they* confer upon the hopeless cause of Romanism, we may well argue that the *lost writers* would have been perused with no greater emolument. It is, however, quite obvious, that the miserable excuse of Cardinal Perron is, in effect,

¹ Certum est, imagines Christi et maxime statuas, primis Ecclesiæ sæculis, non fuisse substitutas loco idolorum, nec fidelium venerationi expositas. Petav. Dogmat. Theol. lib. xv. c. 13. n. 3.

² See Stillingfleet's Rational Account of the grounds of protest. Relig. part iii. chap. 3. § 19. p. 590.

neither more nor less than a full acknowledgment, which acknowledgment he makes indeed even in so many words, that *the unscriptural practice of invoking the saints is totally unsupported by any ancient historical testimony.*

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUSION.

TAKING in regular succession the most prominent and marked peculiarities of Romanism, Infallibility, Papal Supremacy, Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Saint-worship, Image-worship, Relic-worship, and Cross-worship, I have now shewn, that, even according to the evidence produced by the latin advocates themselves, those peculiarities, whether in regard to their abstract truth, or in regard to the alleged fact of their universal reception by the primitive Church, rest upon no testimony either of Holy Scripture or of the writers of the three first centuries. Whence the conclusion is: that *such peculiarities cannot reasonably be obtruded upon us, under the aspect of a constituent portion of Christianity.*

I. This very natural and very obvious mode of conducting the investigation, even when barely hinted at as indispensably requisite to the development of the truth, has produced no small measure of soreness and irritation on the part of a modern defender of Romanism.

Mr. Husenbeth is angry, because I am unable to see the *glaring absurdity* of the mode of conducting the inquiry, which, as I had imagined, *plain common sense* instinctively led me to adopt: for, by some mental process which transcends my own comprehension, he pronounces the requisition of distinct evidence, from the writers of the three first centuries, for the establishment of the alleged historical FACT, that, *Quite up to the apostolic age the peculiarities of Romanism were universally received by the primitive Church on the professed authority of Christ and his Apostles themselves*, to be nothing better than A GLARING ABSURDITY¹.

¹ *The question of the apostolicity of our doctrines*, says Mr. Husenbeth in his last pamphlet, is A QUESTION OF HISTORY. Hence Mr. Faber argues, that the whole vitals of the matter lie in the writings of the Fathers anterior to the first General Council at Nice in 325; and that we shall effect nothing in the way of testimony, unless, with specified dates, we mount step by step until we reach the age of the approving Apostles themselves. This, he contends, we have not done, and cannot do: for he has perused all the Antenicene Fathers; and there exists a lack of materials, which renders the proposed task impossible. This has been Mr. Faber's eternal statement: and the man will not see its glaring absurdity. p. 9, 10.

Mr. Husenbeth is grievously inaccurate in making me say, that I have perused *all* the Antenicene Fathers. Such an assertion was *never* made by me. I have indeed perused *the greater part* of their writings: and, in most instances, I have perused them severally *from beginning to end*: but I *never* said, what Mr. Husenbeth very inaccurately *exhibits* me as saying. Yet, though I have *not* read *all* their writings, I have

If, for the establishment of a certain system of doctrine, and for the substantiation of a certain alleged primeval fact, it be a *glaring absurdity* to resort to the evidence of Scripture and to the testimony of the writers of the three first centuries: we shall naturally be led to ask; *What that better and more satisfactory mode can be, which is recommended by Mr. Husenbeth.*

His remarks on this point arrange themselves under two several statements.

With much *general* sound judgment, though certainly with a grievous want of distinct *particular* application to the present case, he observes:

read *quite sufficient* to warrant my perfectly safe remark concerning the peculiarities of Romanism. I stated, and I again state, that *The doctrinal and practical peculiarities of the Latin Church cannot be established, as of apostolical origination, by the historical testimony of the Fathers of the three first centuries.* If Mr. Husenbeth can confute this very plain statement by the adduction of distinct evidence from those early Fathers, let him by all means come forward and put me to open shame. With respect to the alleged *glaring absurdity*, of my requiring a PROOF of an asserted early fact, through the medium of early, rather than of later, testimony: I really am not able to discern it, even with all the aid afforded me by Mr. Husenbeth's remarks on the subject. Whatever may be the amount of *my* folly, the whole matter will still finally resolve itself into the following question: CAN THE APOSTOLICAL ORIGINATION OF ROMISH PECULIARITIES BE HISTORICALLY SUBSTANTIATED FROM THE FATHERS OF THE THREE FIRST CENTURIES? If this *can* be done; let Mr. Husenbeth *do* it: if it *cannot* be done; let him, in all equity, transfer, from *my* head, to *his own* utterly unsupported scheme of belief and practice, the well-deserved charge of *glaring absurdity.*

that *It will amply suffice to every reasonable mind, when we find the Fathers of the second, third, fourth, and subsequent ages, teaching doctrines, which, in their time, were universally believed to have descended from the Apostles ; for, on the principle of Tertullian's excellent argument from prescription, such doctrines must be true, and cannot be erroneous* ¹.

To please Mr. Faber, says Mr. Husenbeth in the same last pamphlet, we must find every one of our doctrines clearly and fully expressed, step by step, with regular dates, through the broken and imperfect stepping stones of the three first centuries ! And, if, in the scattered remains of the early Fathers, we cannot, at this remote period, find every point of our faith as plainly defined as it has been by the Council of Trent : this extraordinary controvertist will not admit, that our doctrines can be proved apostolical. To us, however, and to every reasonable mind, it will amply suffice, when we find the Fathers of the second, third, fourth, and subsequent ages, teaching doctrines, which in their time were universally believed to have descended from the Apostles ; when we find the very earliest Fathers designating the apostolic Churches, and principally that of Rome, as the sacred deposits of apostolic doctrine, to which all others must recur without fear of error ; when we find Tertullian, a Father of the second century, exclaiming in his Book of Prescriptions, Is it at all likely that so many and such great Churches should have erred in their uniform faith ? p. 11, 12.

In this passage, Mr. Husenbeth, so far as I can understand his vagueness of wordy declamation, *first* intimates, that it is unreasonable to expect any historical proof of the apostolicity of romish peculiarities from the Fathers of the three first centuries ; inasmuch as their extant writings are mere broken and imperfect stepping-stones : *next* teaches us, that these peculiarities were *plainly* defined by the Council of Trent, which had

But then, with a judgment by no means equally sound, he *also* observes: that, *In regard to the earlier Fathers or the Fathers of the three first centuries, so few of their writings have descended to us, that to seek for any proof in them is doubtless nothing better than a glaring absurdity*¹.

the grand chronological advantage of not sitting until the middle of the sixteenth century; though he is not careful to inform us, how the Tridentine Doctors contrived so *plainly* to pick them out, according to *their own* professed appeal to primitive antiquity, from those identical broken stepping-stones, among which he himself *now* pronounces it a glaring absurdity to seek them: and *finally* assures us, *the whole of his previous statement notwithstanding*, that these self-same peculiarities are so distinctly propounded as apostolical, by the Fathers of the second and third, no less than by the Fathers of the fourth and all subsequent, ages, that their clear and unambiguous and universally accordant testimony will amply suffice, not only to the gentlemen of the Latin Church, but likewise to *every* reasonable mind.

On the whole, we are taught by this very paradoxical divine: that, While it is a glaring absurdity to expect any proof of the apostolicity of romish peculiarities from the broken stepping-stones of the three first centuries; still, nevertheless, the Fathers of the second and third centuries testify so plainly to this identical matter, that he may run who readeth.

¹ *We must be farther sure*, says Mr. Husenbeth, *that all their writings have come down through so many centuries to our time, and come down perfect in all their parts—The early Fathers wrote very little: and none professed to write complete expositions of faith—So far from the writings of all the primitive Fathers having descended to us, the fact is, that we possess very few.* p. 10.

Here we have another specimen of Mr. Husenbeth's idle

To reconcile these two not very consistent statements requires a measure of ingenuity, which I claim not to possess.

For, if the Fathers of the second and third centuries, no less than the Fathers of the fourth and fifth and all subsequent centuries, *distinctly* teach the peculiarities of Romanism under the precise

love of inflated exaggeration. In a *former* citation, by way of producing stage-effect with the ignorant and the unreasoning, he spoke of the broken and imperfect stepping-stones of the three first centuries; just as if nothing had come down to us save a few scanty and mutilated fragments, which might all be comprised in a twelve-penny pamphlet: *now* he entertains his indulgent latin friends with an assurance, that the early Fathers wrote very little, that of that little still less has been preserved, and that none professed to write complete expositions of Faith!

What, did Justin and Irenèus and Tertullian and Hippolytus and Clement of Alexandria and Cyprian and the labour-loving Origen (as Athanasius well terms him) *write but little*? Were their *scanty* productions but *slightly* connected with doctrinal points? Are the very ancient Creeds preserved by Irenèus and Tertullian, even to say nothing of the Symbol of Gregory Thaumaturgus and the old Symbols of the Roman and Hierosolymitan and Alexandrian Churches, *no sufficiently ample* expositions of primeval Faith? Have the writings of the above specified Fathers come down to us *so parsimoniously* through the envy of all-devouring time, that the poor disjointed and incoherent and scarcely intelligible fragments are mere broken and imperfect stepping-stones? But I forbear. For the sake of Mr. Husenbeth's moral credit, I wish to believe, that his corporeal eyes have never visited the goodly folios (patagonian stepping-stones, I trow!), which contain the works of the Fathers whose names have been enumerated.

aspect of a then universally acknowledged apostolical origination : I discern not, why Mr. Husenbeth should lament the paucity of those writings of the three first centuries, which, for the purpose of evidence, have been suffered to escape destruction ; I discern not, why, if the peculiarities of Romanism be *distinctly* taught in those same earlier writings, it should be a *glaring absurdity* to seek in them any proof of such peculiarities.

Happily, however, I am concerned, not with Mr. Husenbeth's consistency, but only with his projected mode of demonstration.

1. St. John, at the time of his death, touched the commencement of the second century. Consequently, the direct and immediate apostolic succession must be viewed, as extending into it. Hence I readily allow, that, in regard to the establishment of our alleged historical fact, a reasonable mind *ought* to be satisfied, *WHENSOEVER we shall find all the Fathers of the second and third ages, unanimously teaching the peculiarities of Romanism, under the specific aspect of doctrines and practices, which, in their time, were universally believed to have descended from the Apostles.*

This concession Mr. Husenbeth demands : and this concession I very freely make. But, how it is to benefit his cause, until he shall have *first* demonstrated that *all those early Fathers actually do teach as apostolical the peculiarities of Romanism*, I profess myself quite unable to discover.

He asserts : that *All the Fathers of the second*

and third centuries teach doctrines, which, in their time, were universally believed to have descended from the Apostles.

No doubt, they do : but what concern has *this* with the matter now immediately under consideration ? We are engaged, not with *christian doctrines in general*, but with *the peculiarities of the Latin Church in particular*. NOW WHERE do we find the Fathers of the second and third centuries teaching the peculiarities of Romanism, under the aspect of doctrines and practices, which, in their time, were universally believed to have descended from the Apostles ?

Let Mr. Husenbeth produce his instances : and he may *then*, with my full consent, call in Tertulian's argument from prescription.

2. But *here*, in truth, is the very point of deficiency. Mr. Husenbeth boldly challenges the Fathers of the second and third centuries : but he carefully refrains from adducing any testimony from their writings ; and, what is even yet more extraordinary in this very paradoxical theologian, while in his first statement he *challenges* the Fathers of the second and third centuries, in his second statement he absolutely *himself* acknowledges the grievous deficiency of evidence so far as *they* are concerned.

With respect to the earlier Fathers, he argues, so few of their writings have descended to us, that to seek for any proof in *them* is the precise glaring absurdity, into which I myself have, through the

obtuseness of my intellect, been so unhappily betrayed.

Thus, in *one* statement, the Fathers of the second and third centuries overwhelm Mr. Husenbeth's baffled antagonists, with the copiousness and uniformity of their distinct attestations to *the universally acknowledged apostolicity of latin peculiarities*: but, in the *other* statement, these same Fathers suddenly vanish from the arena, with an assurance, on the part of Mr. Husenbeth, that it is a glaring absurdity to seek any proof from *them*, because so few of their writings have descended to us.

(1.) The ingenious argument, contained in the latter of these two statements, is the point, which now demands our serious and attentive consideration.

Strictly speaking, we cannot concede to Mr. Husenbeth the praise of its exclusive manufacture. With some valuable improvements of his own, Mr. Husenbeth has borrowed it from the spiritual armoury of Cardinal Perron.

That learned dignitary, as we have seen, confesses the perfect inutility of seeking the invocation of the Saints in the writings of the three first centuries: but he solves the difficulty by the statement, that most of the writings of that early period have perished¹. Mr. Husenbeth inclines to *extend* the Cardinal's confession to ALL the pe-

¹ See above, book i chap. 6. § II. 4. (2.)

cularities of Romanism : for, while he asserts, that, *in a manner perfectly rational and satisfactory, the latin divines can trace EVERY point of their faith and doctrine up to the Apostles ; yet he admits their inability to do it precisely in the singular manner, which, with most perverse ingenuity, I am said to have marked out for them*¹.

¹ *Undoubtedly, says Mr. Husenbeth, we ought to be able to trace every point of Catholic Faith up to the Apostles ; and thus we CAN and DO trace our doctrines : we do so in a manner perfectly rational and satisfactory, THOUGH NOT PRECISELY IN THE SINGULAR METHOD, WHICH, WITH MOST PERVERSE INGENUITY, MR. FABER HAS MARKED OUT FOR US. p. 10.*

The method, which my perverse ingenuity marked out, was simply the very natural and obvious method of *a recurrence to the earliest testimony* : and, that I might in no wise seem unreasonably parsimonious, I chronologically extended the limits of that testimony to the period of the three first centuries. Mr. Husenbeth, with perfect truth I wot, here acknowledges, that the gentlemen of his communion CAN NOT trace their peculiarities of Faith and Practice up to the Apostles in the method which I have thus marked out for them : in other words, he acknowledges, that, by the testimony of the three first centuries (for *that* was the method which I marked out,) the apostolicity of romish peculiarities CANNOT be substantiated.

In what *other* perfectly rational and satisfactory manner Mr. Husenbeth proposes to trace the doctrines and practices of his Church up to the Apostles, as he confesses that he *ought* to be able to trace them, I myself cannot even so much as conjecture.

We CAN and DO, says he, thus trace our doctrines.

I simply ask, WHERE ?

My own demand, that *the peculiarities of Romanism should be substantiated from the testimony of the three first centuries,*

Here then, at least, Mr. Husenbeth acknowledges, that *The peculiarities of his Church have no warrant from the writings of the three first centuries*: but, like Cardinal Perron, he would at once solve the difficulty and convict myself of glaring absurdity, by the cheap allegation, that *A great part of the writings of that early period have unhappily perished*.

Now, even independently of his *direct* confession; that *The apostolicity of Romanism cannot be traced precisely in the singular method, which, with most perverse ingenuity, I have marked out for him and his fellow-labourers*: the allegation before us so necessarily *implies* such an acknowledgment, that, without the acknowledgment, the allegation is a palpably impertinent superfluity.

is thrown aside by Mr. Husenbeth as a *glaring absurdity*: because, sure enough, it is useless to look for evidence, where no evidence can be found.

What, then, is to be done: and how are we to trace the peculiarities in question up to the Apostles, when, confessedly, we must expect no aid from the writers of the three first centuries?

Mr. Husenbeth, however, professes, not only that the task *can* be accomplished, but also that it can be accomplished *in a manner perfectly rational and satisfactory*; though, as he admits, *not precisely in the manner marked out by myself*, for which he apparently entertains a strenuous and not ill-founded antipathy.

I can barely reply: FIAT EXPERIMENTUM.

If Mr. Husenbeth can accomplish, what no mortal man has ever yet accomplished: he will deserve the eternal gratitude of the Church which he so doggedly advocates.

Hence, let the solution, projected by Cardinal Perron and adopted by Mr. Husenbeth, avail what it can avail: still the acknowledgment remains in full force; that, *Simply as a notorious matter of FACT, the peculiarities of Romanism cannot be historically substantiated from the existing writers of the three first centuries.*

This FACT was what I asserted: this FACT, in its assertion, excited the boundless wrath of Mr. Husenbeth, and stirred him up to much uncomeliness of vituperative phraseology: this FACT I have now fully proved: this FACT has, after all, been pettishly acknowledged by Mr. Husenbeth himself.

If he *deny* the acknowledgment; for Mr. Husenbeth is apt, occasionally, to be somewhat paradoxical: *let him PRODUCE his evidence from the writings of the three first centuries.* Unless the evidence be PRODUCED, the mere stout *denial* of the acknowledgment, which of course implies *an assertion of the existence of the evidence*, will excite only a smile upon the countenance of the historical inquirer.

What the lost writers of the three first centuries *may* have said, neither Cardinal Perron nor Mr. Husenbeth nor myself can positively determine. To intimate, that they *must* have spoken favourably of the doctrines and practices of the Latin Church, is a mere gratuitous assumption, which can never be for a moment admitted in legitimate

argument. This, at least, is certain : that *Neither the existing documents of the three first centuries, nor (what is of much greater concern) the Holy Scriptures, afford any warrant for those marked peculiarities of Romanism which in review have now successively passed before us.*

(2.) But, when the Cardinal and Mr. Husenbeth complain of the great loss which their cause has sustained by the destruction of certain writings of the three first ages, we are naturally and reasonably led to ask ; why they and their friends, such as Dr. Trevern and Mr. Berington, have not made a better and more ample use of the writings which *have* survived.

As I have already had occasion to observe, more than twenty of the Fathers of that period, either perfectly or imperfectly, have come down to us. Among these, many, such, for instance, as Justin and Hippolytus and Irenèus and Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria and Cyprian and Origen, have descended very full and very large in point both of doctrine and of practice. Others, again, such as Clement of Rome and Polycarp and Ignatius and Athenagoras and Minucius Felix, have descended most probably complete or at least nearly so, though their writings never ran to any great extent.

Here we have abundant materials for the evidential substantiation of *really* catholic doctrines : and, accordingly, we can, from these materials,

distinctly and step by step, carry up, to the apostolic age itself, the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and of Christ's essential incarnate godhead.

Now why cannot the same be done, from the same materials, with the peculiarities of Romanism ?

Many of the early writers have perished, we are told.

Doubtless, many of them have perished : yet still, from the amply sufficient remainder, we can establish the fact of the primitive reception of every *really* catholic doctrine.

But, though many of them have perished either wholly or partially : why, for the substantiation of latin peculiarities, has not more use been made of the treasures which we *still* possess ? Why, under each point of doctrine or of practice, are so many of the early writers left altogether uncited ? Why are the pretended proofs from them, in the hands of Dr. Trevern and Mr. Berington, at once so miserably inconclusive and so deplorably penurious ?

It would, I trow, have been seemly, on the part of Mr. Husenbeth, to PRODUCE clear evidence from the numerous early writings which we *still* possess, ere he idly and gratuitously babbled of his imaginary loss of testimony through the destruction of those which have perished.

What ! Can no clear evidence, for latin peculiarities, be produced from any one of more than

twenty, either wholly or partially extant, Fathers of the three first centuries ?

Dr. Trevern and Mr. Berington have made the attempt : but, with what emolument, the inquirer has noticed, and Mr. Husenbeth has acknowledged. All these ancient Fathers die : and, unhappily for the cause of Romanism, they die, and make no sign. The peculiarities of the Latin Church, as Mr. Husenbeth assures us, *can* indeed, on EVERY point, be traced up to the Apostles, in a manner perfectly rational and satisfactory : though, as he confesses, *not precisely* in the singular method, that is to say, *through the evidential medium of the Fathers of the three first centuries*, which, with most perverse ingenuity, I have marked out for him and his painful associates.

II. No reasonable being can be required to *believe* A FACT, without adequate historical demonstration : yet I will readily allow, that a fact *may* have occurred, though we may be unable to *prove* its occurrence.

Hence, though the alleged FACT, of *the universal reception of roman peculiarities by the Catholic Church quite up to the time of the Apostles*, be utterly incapable of historical substantiation : still, in the abstract, the FACT itself *may* really have occurred.

Having, therefore, now shewn negatively, that *The Romanists are unable to produce any evidence in favour of their peculiarities either from Scripture*

or from the writings of the three first centuries: I shall next proceed to shew positively, that The ancients are not merely silent, but that they actually bear strong and direct testimony against those strange innovations, both in doctrine and in practice, which characterise the modern Church of the Latin Patriarchate.

BOOK II.

THE TESTIMONY OF HISTORY AGAINST THE PECULIARITIES OF ROMANISM.

Hoc exigere VERITATEM, cui nemo præscribere potest; non spacium temporum, non patrocina personarum, non privilegium regionum. Tertull. de virgin. veland. Oper. p. 490.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT.

HITHERTO, I have simply considered the evidence, produced by the Romanists themselves, partly from Scripture and partly from the writers of the three first centuries, for the avowed purpose, both of establishing *the revealed truth of the peculiarities of the Latin Communion*, and of substantiating the alleged historical fact that *those peculiarities were universally received by the primitive Church from the very beginning on the special ground that they had been delivered by the authoritative teaching of Christ and his Apostles*: and, without adducing any testimony to the *contrary* effect, I have merely shewn, what in truth has actually been admitted even by some of the papal advocates themselves, that *such evidence is altogether insufficient to make good the proposition, for the demonstration of which it was declaredly brought forward*. Hence, even if *nothing more* were said, and even if I stopped short at the *present* point of the discussion, no reasonable person could be

justly required to admit the peculiarities of the Latin Church either doctrinal or practical.

For the matter *now* stands, in manner following.

The peculiarities of Romanism are, by the Latins, asserted to be an essential and constituent part of Christianity, inculcated by our Lord and his Apostles, and under *their* sanction and authority received from the very first by the Church Catholic. Such being the case, the burden of proof clearly rests upon the shoulders of the asserters. Let the asserters, then, make good their assertion: and the question is settled.

Now this question is, by one of the asserters admitted, by others tacitly acknowledged, and by none denied, to be *a question of history*. As a *question of history*, therefore it must be discussed.

Accordingly, the Romanists have attempted to establish their assertion on the basis of alleged evidence. But their attempt is a total failure. Consequently, no man can be fairly required, on the plea of religious obligation, to admit the truth of their assertion: inasmuch as their assertion, even on their own shewing, has never yet been substantiated by adequate testimony.

I. On the legitimate principles of historical evidence, I required the proof of the assertion, that *The peculiarities of Romanism were received by the Catholic Church from the very beginning on the alleged express authority of Christ and his Apostles*, to be brought from the writings of the three first centuries: for, if, from the testi-

mony of the three first centuries, the assertion could not be substantiated; it were a palpable waste of time to seek for its substantiation in writings of the fourth or fifth or sixth century.

Accordingly, as is plain to the very meanest comprehension, the matter stands in manner following.

An even *perfectly complete* historical demonstration, of the actual existence of a doctrine or a practice four or five hundred years *after* the christian era, is no proof, that such doctrine or such practice existed *in the apostolic age* or *in the earliest age of the Church*. To establish the fact of *primeval existence*, we require *primeval evidence*: and, unless the testimony of the three first centuries be found to corroborate, in regard to *their own* times, the testimony of *much later* periods; the testimony of those *later* periods, bearing only upon the doctrines and practices which were received during *their own* evolution, can never afford any solid proof, that those doctrines and those practices were *apostolical* and *primitive*. The connecting link of evidence is plainly wanted: and the copiousness, even were it much greater or at least much more universal than it really is, of the *fourth* or *fifth* or *sixth* age, can never be legitimately viewed, as salving the defect and as filling up the silence of the *three first* ages.

On these perfectly intelligible principles, if we concede the *three* first centuries to the Romanist

as the field from which he is allowed to make out his case of evidence; we, in truth, present him with a very ample and very liberal concession: for we might, in undeniable equity, determine the end of the *second* century to be the proper limit of his permitted historical investigation.

II. But, while, for the production of evidence to substantiate his assertion, the Romanist is justly confined to the three first centuries: the diligent inquirer after truth is subjected to no such confinement.

For testimonies *against* the peculiarities of Romanism, he is at full liberty to resort, not only to the writings of the three *first* ages, but to the writings also of any *subsequent* period.

The reason of this difference, between the legitimate station of defence and the legitimate station of attack, is sufficiently obvious.

If, in the documents of the fourth or fifth century, the diligent inquirer finds, on the part of the then existing Church Catholic, a disavowal or a contradiction of latin peculiarities: it will follow, *a fortiori*, that peculiarities, unknown or disavowed in the fourth or fifth century, could not have been universally received, upon the declared authority of Christ and his Apostles, in the first or second or third.

Hence, as early testimonies are *absolutely indispensable* to the cause of modern Romanism: so, for the purpose of the honest inquirer after truth,

there is an aspect, under which the very lateness of testimony *against* latin peculiarities renders such testimony peculiarly cogent and valuable.

Thus, for instance, any testimony of the *third* century against those peculiarities would only prove, that they had not started into existence, or that they were not ecclesiastically received, during the lapse of the *third* century : whereas testimony of the *sixth* century against them would prove, that, even at *that* comparatively late period, they were *still* unknown and unrecognised.

In short, the lower we can descend in producing testimony *against* the peculiarities of Romanism ; the more fully and completely and fatally we shall demonstrate their upstart usurping novelty.

CHAPTER II.

INFALLIBILITY.

For the Catholic Church, which they fondly identify with the provincial Latin Church of the Western Patriarchate, the Romanists claim the high prerogative of infallibility.

I. *Where this infallibility resides, however ; or, to speak perhaps more accurately, Whether this infallibility alike resides with three several organs, or is confined to one of those three organs exclusively :* the doctors of the Latin Church, as if in bitter mockery of the very claim itself, have never yet been able fully to agree ; and the infallible Church herself, notwithstanding her alleged infallibility which doubtless is lodged SOMEWHERE, has not hitherto, I believe, thought good to determine this knotty question.

1. The Jesuits, and those high Romanists who bear the name of *Transalpines*, while they of course admit that a papally ratified General Council is infallible, contend also for the personal

infallibility of the Pope; when, on any point of faith, he undertakes to issue a solemn decision ¹.

But, as those speculatists are confuted by the undeniable fact, that Pope Gregory VII solemnly adjudged to the Roman Pontiff the identical title which Pope Gregory I had solemnly declared to be the badge of Antichrist's forerunner ²: so the latin divine Almain positively declares, on behalf of his own party in the infallible Church, that *the Pope may err even judicially*; alleging very sensibly, in proof of his declaration, the whimsical circumstance, that, in regard to the tenure of the property possessed by Christ and his Apostles, Pope Nicolas III and Pope John XXII gave two judicial decisions which flatly contradicted each other ³.

2. The low Romanists, who are distinguished by the name of *Cisalpines* (for serious differences exist, it appears, even in the very bosom of privileged inerrancy), not only deny the personal in-

¹ Butler's Book of the Rom. Cath. Church. p. 121—124.

² Ego fidenter dico, quod, quisquis se *Universalem Sacerdotem* vocat vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit. Gregor. I. Epist. lib. vi. epist. 30.

Quod solus Romanus Pontifex jure dicatur *Universalis*, Gregor. VII. dictat. Epist. lib. ii. epist. 55. Labb. Concil. vol. x. p. 110.

³ Papa potest errare, errore judiciali: de personali, omnibus notum est. Jac. Almain. de Auctor. Eccles. c. x.

Quorum unus determinavit judicialiter, Christum et Apostolos nihil habuisse in communi nec in proprio: alter, oppositum. Ibid.

fallibility of the Pope : but hold also, that, for heresy or schism (to both of which, we find, the alleged fallible head of an infallible body is actually liable), he may be lawfully deposed by a General Council¹. Such being the case, they must, on their own principles, inevitably hold the infallibility of a General Council even when *not* sanctioned by the papal confirmation : for it is quite clear, on the one hand, that no *prudent* Pope, at least, would ratify the sentence of his own deposition, or confirm the decree which pronounced him to be a schismatic or a heretic ; and it is equally clear, on the other hand, that no General Council could infallibly pronounce the Pope to be a heretic or a schismatic, himself all the while stiffly denying, as of course he *would* deny, the offensive allegation, unless such General Council, *independently* of any papal ratification, were *itself* constitutionally infallible.

But, here again, we are immediately encountered by a practical confutation of the low Cisalpines, as we before encountered a similar confutation of the high Transalpines.

The Council of Constantinople, which sat in the year 754 but which was never confirmed by the Pope, unanimously decreed the removal of images and the condemnation of image-worship : but the second Council of Nice, convoked in the year 787 and confirmed by the Pope, decreed the

¹ Butler's Book of the Rom. Cath. Church. p. 121—124.

rëestablishment of image-worship, and anathematised all those who had concurred in its abolition ; a decision, afterward repeated by the Council of Trent, which also was honoured by the papal confirmation ¹.

Now the Cisalpines, by the very necessity of their principles, hold the infallibility of a General Council *not* ratified by the Pope ; for, otherwise, they will be reduced to the inconsistency of maintaining, that the head of the Church may be fully convicted of heresy and may be lawfully deposed from his high station by a Council, which itself is *fallible* and therefore palpably *unauthoritative* : and, *a fortiori*, they hold, in common with *all* Romanists, the undoubted infallibility of a General Council, when the Pope *has* been pleased to ratify it.

Hence they are brought to the goodly conclusion : that *The papally unratified Council of Constantinople which condemned image-worship, and the papally ratified Councils of Nice and Trent which established image-worship, are, in their opposite decisions, all equally infallible* ².

¹ Concil. Nic. II. act. i. Labb. Concil. vol. vii. p. 56, 57, 60, 61. act. vi. p. 541. Concil. Trident. sess. xxv. p. 507, 508.

² It may be useful to consider the perplexed case of the Cisalpines somewhat more at large.

I. In the words of the second Nicene Council, the Cisalpines may possibly object : that, *Although the Council of Constantinople has been denominated the seventh Ecumenical Council ; yet, by persons who think rightly, it is lawfully and canonically*

3. The respective peculiar theories of the Transalpiners and the Cisalpiners having been thus com-

styled a false Synod, as being alienated from all truth and piety, and as having rashly and boldly and atheistically barked against the heaven-delivered ecclesiastical legislation, and as having insulted the holy and venerable images, and as having commanded them to be removed from the holy churches of God. Hence they may urge, that, on their principles, they are no way bound to admit its infallibility.

But such an evasion will, in no wise, serve their purpose.

How do they *know*, that the Council of Constantinople was not the seventh Ecumenical Council, but on the contrary that it was a false synod?

They can only reply: that *Its character was determined to be such by the second council of Nice.*

Such a reply, however, is, on *their* principles, palpably irrelevant and nugatory.

The Council of Constantinople, unratified by the Pope, declared itself to be the seventh Ecumenical Council: the second Council of Nice, ratified by the Pope, contradicted its declaration. Now, on the principles of the Cisalpiners, a *papally ratified Council* and a *papally unratified Council* are alike infallible. The perplexing question, therefore, will perpetually recur: *Why should the Cisalpiners believe the declaration of the second Nicene Council as to the character of the Council of Constantinople, rather than the declaration of the Council of Constantinople as to its own character?*

II. Possibly, however, taking a somewhat different ground, the Cisalpiners may allege: that *The Council of Constantinople was not ecumenical and therefore not infallible, because the western Bishops were not present.*

To this allegation, according to the principles advocated by the Bishop of Strasbourg, it would be quite sufficient to reply: that *Tacit assent, not mere bodily presence, on the part of the Bishops dispersed over the world, assures us that a Council is*

pendiously disposed of, nothing remains but the third theory, in which *all* good Romanists agree,

really ecumenical. Trevern's Answer to Diff. of Roman. p. 23.

But we can do much more.

As soon as the merits of the case were known in the West, the conduct of the occidental Bishops was prompt and decisive. In the year 794, or exactly seven years after the session of the second Nicene Council, Charlemagne assembled at Frankfort a Council of 300 western Bishops, who reversed the idolatrous decision of the Nicene Fathers, and who ratified the anti-idolatrous decision of the Constantinopolitan Fathers by their concurrent unanimous condemnation of image-worship. To the Constantinopolitan Council, therefore, nothing was wanted, save the *papal confirmation* : and the Cisalpines, who hold that a *General Council may convict the Pope of heresy and may thence lawfully pronounce his deposition*, will, of course, deem the papal confirmation *quite unnecessary*. Hence the Cisalpines, unless they be content to plunge into irremediable inconsistency, must clearly admit the infallibility of the image-condemning Fathers of Constantinople.

Nay, they are bound to do it even *a fortiori*. For they acknowledge the right of the Council of Constance, to depose all the three then rival Popes, and to set up yet a fourth in their place ; though, by latin theologians, the Council of Constance is not rated as an Ecumenical Council. Therefore, if they thus, by a plain and necessary consequence from their own principles, acknowledge the infallibility of the *papally unratified* Council of Constance : they cannot consistently deny the *equal* infallibility of the *papally unratified* Ecumenical Council of Constantinople, whose image-condemning decree received even the formal and express assent of 300 western Bishops assembled in the Council of Frankfort.

Should they attempt to cut this gordian knot, by *at once* denying the infallibility *both* of the Council of Constantinople

whether they make or make not the special additaments of Transalpines and Cisalpines.

and of the Council of Constance, on the dogmatical plea that neither of those two Councils was ecumenical: they will immediately be involved in the absurdity of maintaining; that A Council, neither ecumenical nor infallible, may, nevertheless, infallibly convict a Pope of heresy or schism, and may thence lawfully proceed to his formal deposition.

III. The reason, why the Council of Constance is not rated as ecumenical, I conclude to be, because it asserted the superiority of Councils to Popes, and because it obviously *could not* have received the papal confirmation. Here, then, arises yet another difficulty for the amusement of the Cisalpines.

The Pope-deposing doctrine of the Council of Constance was rejected, *as false*, by the two acknowledged ecumenical and papally ratified Councils of Florence and fifth Lateran. *Hoc Concilium*, says Cardinal Bellarmine of the Council of Constance, *quantum ad primas sessiones, ubi definit CONCILIVM ESSE SUPRA PAPAM, reprobaturum est in Concil. Flor. et Later. V. Reliqua probata sunt.* Bellarm. Oper. vol. i. p. 12.

Now, so far as I can understand the matter, the Cisalpines can by no possibility maintain their own opinion, without directly asserting: that *The two ecumenical and papally ratified Councils of Florence and fifth Lateran, which stand the sixteenth and seventeenth in the popish muster-roll of Ecumenical Synods, have erred in their decision, and consequently are in no wise infallible.*

1. I pretend not to say, what may be Dr. Trevern's private sentiments on this highly curious question: for, like our renowned Protector Oliver Cromwell, he possesses the enviable and useful faculty of speaking largely on a topic without exciting a single definite idea.

He assures his readers, however: that *We Catholics agree perfectly in the same principle: and, in reality, we on both sides attach the seal of Infallibility to UNIVERSAL CONSENT.*

This third theory is : that *Infallibility is lodged with a General Council ratified by the papal confirmation.*

ANSW. to Diffic. of Rom. p. 23, 24. And this assurance he deems quite a sufficient reply to what he is pleased to call *my formidable objection* ; meaning, I do suppose, by the rule of contrary, that my objection is *not* formidable.

It is somewhat difficult to perceive the cogency of the reply, inasmuch as it professedly rests upon the alleged fact of UNIVERSAL CONSENT. Are we to receive or to deny the doctrine of *The superiority of a Council to the Pope* ? Two papally ratified Ecumenical Councils, we see, deny it : and yet, as the Cisalpines have practically demonstrated, the denial of these two infallible Councils is by no means *a matter of* UNIVERSAL CONSENT.

The truth is, Dr. Trevern was grievously hampered : and thence, according to his wont, while he wraps up his lack of definiteness in barren and unmeaning generalities, he falls foul of myself in the cheap line of personal abuse.

2. Mr. Berington teaches us : that *It is no article of catholic faith to believe, that the Pope is in himself infallible, separated from the Church, even in expounding the faith.* Faith of Cathol. p. 177, 178.

I have the satisfaction of perfectly agreeing with him as to the fallibility of the Pope, though I am somewhat puzzled how to reconcile him with himself.

Unless I wholly misunderstand Mr. Berington, *the Church is doctrinally infallible* : but *the Vicar of Christ, the divinely appointed head of the Church, is doctrinally fallible.* Mr. Berington, in short, who apparently is a stout Cisalpine, seems to hold the favourite low Church paradox of *an infallible body decorated and guided by a fallible head.* Compare Faith of Cathol. p. 145, 154, 155, 177, 178.

If an alien may presume to give an opinion, I should say, that, on genuine latin principles, the Transalpine has decidedly

As the present theory is, by far, the most convenient to the Romanists; as it is *universally* (I believe) adopted by them, whether they *additionally hold* or *entirely reject* the other two theories; and as, in truth, it constitutes the very strength of their battle, by enabling them to disavow at pleasure any conciliar decree which has not been passed by some one of the acknowledged eighteen ecumenical and papally ratified Councils: it will be proper to state the evidence against it somewhat more copiously.

II. Now this evidence may be usefully arranged under two heads: *the practical contradictoriness of Councils thus circumstanced, either to Scripture, or to the primitive Church, or to themselves, or to other Councils similarly circumstanced; and the testimony of certain of the old Fathers in regard to points, which immediately involve the conciliar infallibility maintained by the advocates of the Latin Church.*

1. Let us begin with *the practical contradictoriness of papally ratified Ecumenical Councils, either to Scripture, or to the primitive Church, or to themselves, or to other Councils similarly circumstanced.*

(1.) The Council of Ephesus, rated as the third Ecumenical Council, after a due recital of the

the better of the Cisalpine: though I acknowledge myself somewhat staggered by the practical cisalpine argument of Almain from the flat judicial contradictoriness of the two transalpinely infallible Popes Nicolas III and John XXII.

Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed which defines the procession of the Holy Ghost *simply* from the Father, determined: that it was unlawful to introduce any other additional point of faith into that already solemnly recognised Symbol¹.

But the Council of Trent, rated as the eighteenth Ecumenical Council, heedless of the decree of its remote predecessor, confirmed that additional article of faith, which *complexly* defines the procession of the Holy Ghost both from the Father and from the Son².

¹ Τούτων ἀναγνωσθέντων, ὤρισεν ἡ ἅγια σύνοδος, ἑτέραν πίστιν μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι προφέρειν ἢ γουὺν συγγράφειν ἢ συντιθέναι, παρὰ τὴν ὀρισθεῖσαν παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν τῇ Νικαίῳ συναχθέντων πόλει σὺν Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι. τοὺς δὲ τολμῶντας ἢ συντιθέναι πίστιν ἑτέραν ἢ γουὺν προκομίζειν ἢ προφέρειν τοῖς θέλουσιν ἐπιστρέφειν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας,—εἰ μὲν εἶεν ἐπίσκοποι ἢ κληρικοὶ, ἀλλοτρίους εἶναι, τοὺς ἐπισκόπους τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, καὶ τοὺς κληρικοὺς τοῦ κληροῦ· εἰ δὲ λαϊκοὶ εἶεν, ἀναθεματίζεσθαι. Concil. Ephes. can. vii. Bever. Synod. vol i. p. 103.

² Concil. Trident. sess. iii. p. 6. I have no immediate concern with either the abstract propriety or the abstract impropriety of introducing the famous clause *Filioque*. My present business is, not with doctrinal truth *as such*, but with conciliar infallibility. Now the *complex* procession of the Holy Ghost from *both* the Father and the Son is clearly an *ἑτέρα πίστις* from the *simple* procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father *only*. And, accordingly, under this precise aspect, the Greeks have always indignantly protested against the introduction of the clause, as a presumptuous innovation of the Latins in the very teeth of the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus. Had the old definition of Tertullian been adopted, it is possible, that the dispute between the two rival Churches, a dispute not yet termi-

(2.) The second Council of Nice rated as the seventh Ecumenical Council, and afterward the Council of Trent rated as the eighteenth Ecumenical Council, decreed the relative worship of images, cursing all those who should presume to impugn their decision ¹.

But holy Scripture, without descending to any idle and sophistical distinctions of *Latria* and of *Dulia* or of *relative worship* and *positive worship*, altogether forbids the making of images for the purpose of bowing down to them and worshipping them ².

(3.) The second Council of Lateran, rated as the tenth Ecumenical Council, prohibited the marriage of the Clergy; and *that*, not merely on the score of *temporary and mutable discipline* (though such an imposition, made even under *this* aspect, were offensively presumptuous), but on the distinctly specified score of *immutable morality*: for it expressly rests its prohibition upon the judicially alleged circumstance, that *The mar-*

nated, might have been happily prevented. Hoc mihi et in tertium gradum dictum sit, qui spiritum non aliunde puto, quam a Patre per Filium. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 3. Oper. p. 406. The *Per Filium*, which (if I mistake not) is a doctrine admitted by the Greeks themselves, might have saved the honour of the Ephesine Council, by being received as a mere explanation of the *mode* in which the Spirit proceeds from the Father: the *Filioque* is a palpable addition of an *ἕτερον πνεῦμα*.

¹ Concil. Nic. ii. act. i. Labb. Concil. vol. vii. p. 60, 61. Concil. Trident. sess. xxv. p. 507, 508.

² Exod. xx. 4, 5.

riage of the Clergy is nothing better than a devotion to chambering and wantonness ¹.

But holy Scripture declares, that marriage is honourable in all men : and, accordingly, speaks with full approbation of the marriage of the Clergy ².

(4.) The third Council of Lateran, rated as the eleventh Ecumenical Council, decreed: that oaths, contrary to ecclesiastical utility (the points of contrariety and utility to be, of course, determined by the interested Roman Priesthood themselves), are not to be performed : because, so far from being legitimately binding oaths, they are mere acts of perjury null and void from the beginning ³.

¹ Cum enim ipsi templum Dei, vasa Domini, sacrarium Spiritus Sancti, debeant et esse et dici : indignum est eos cubilibus et immunditiis deservire. Concil. Later. ii. can. vi. Labb. Concil. vol. x. p. 1003. Yet the consistent Church of Rome actually determines that identical institution, which in the case of the Clergy she estimates as chambering and wantonness, to be in the case of the Laity one of her seven Sacraments. Concil. Trident. sess. xxiv. can. i. p. 345. According to the infallible Council of Trent, marriage is a sacrament : according to the equally infallible second Council of Lateran, it is chambering and wantonness : according to assuredly infallible Scripture, it is honourable in all men.

² Heb. xiii. 4. 1. Tim. iii. 2, 4, 8, 11, 12.

³ Non enim dicenda sunt juramenta, sed potius, perjuriam, quæ contra utilitatem ecclesiasticam et sanctorum patrum veniunt instituta. Concil. Later. iii. can. xvi. Labb. Concil. vol. x. p. 1517.

This canon is the real basis of the doctrine, that *Faith is not to be kept with heretics* : and it bears the same relation to it,

But holy Scripture pronounces: that every oath, which does not contradict a plain and well

that *Genus* bears to *Species*. When Faith with heretics is not contrary to ecclesiastical utility, as in the case of the ordinary transactions of life between man and man; it must be religiously kept: but, when Faith with heretics is contrary to ecclesiastical utility; then it must be religiously broken.

I. Such was the principle, on which faith was broken to Huss at the Council of Constance: not that faith was not *ordinarily* to be kept with heretics, but that it was not to be kept *when ecclesiastical utility required its breach*.

Nullum *fidei catholicæ vel jurisdictioni ecclesiasticæ* præjudicium generari,—quo minus, *dicto salvo conductu non obstante*, liceat, *judici competenti et ecclesiastico*, de hujusmodi personarum erroribus inquirere,—*eosdemque punire*, quantum *justitia suadebit*, si suos errores revocare pertinaciter recusaverint; *etiam si, de salvo conductu confisi, ad locum venerint judicii, alias non venturi*: nec sic promittentem, cum fecerit quod in ipso est, ex hoc in aliquo remansisse obligatum. Concil. Constant. Decret. Quod non obstantibus salvis conductibus. Labb. Concil. vol. xii. p. 169.

II. The Council of Trent fairly acknowledges the decision of the Council of Constance to be a *faith-breaking decision*, by the very circumstance of its professing to *suspend* it, in favour of heretics of all nations, during the period of its own session: thus flatly contradicting the sixteenth canon of the infallible third Council of Lateran, if the Council of Constance rightly interpreted that canon.

Insuper, *omni fraude et dolo exclusis, vera et bona fide promittit*, ipsam Synodum nullam vel manifestè vel occultè occasionem quæsituram; aut aliqua auctoritate, potentia, jure, vel statuto, privilegio legum vel canonum aut quorumcunque Conciliorum, præsertim Constantiensis et Senensis, quacunque forma verborum expressa, *in aliquod hujus fidei publicæ et plenissimæ assecurationis ac publicæ et liberæ audientia, ipsi*

defined moral duty, is imperiously binding upon the conscience; that those, who love false oaths, are hated by the Lord; that, whatever goes forth from a person's lips under the obligation of an oath, must be strictly kept and performed; and that no vain and arbitrary and interested plea of utility can authorise us to violate an oath, but that it must be religiously observed even though the observation of it may be disadvantageous to the benefit or convenience of the juror ¹.

(5.) The fourth Council of Lateran rated as the twelfth Ecumenical Council, and at a subsequent period the Council of Trent also, declared: that, in the Eucharist, the substance of the bread and wine is materially changed into the substance of the body and blood of Christ ².

But the early Fathers of the Church pronounced, as the undoubted orthodoxy of primitive times: that the change in the elements is not material

per ipsam Synodum concessæ, præjudicium, quovis modo usuram, aut quemquam uti permissuram: quibus in hac parte pro hac vice derogat. Concil. Trident. Salv. Conduct. sess. xviii. p. 201.

In the not very complimentary *omni fraude et dolo exclusis*, the Tridentine Fathers confess their Constantian Predecessors to have been *most infamously and most grossly fraudulent and treacherous*.

¹ Numb. xxx. 2. Levit. xix. 12. Deut. xxiii. 23. Zechar. viii. 17. Psalm xv. 4. Rev. xxi. 8.

² Concil. Later. iv. can. i. Labb. Concil. vol. xi. par. i. p. 143. Concil. Trident. sess. xiii. c. 1, 2, 3, 4. can. i, ii. p. 122—125, 129, 130.

but moral ; and, consequently, that the bread and wine, by virtue of consecration, pass not out of their own proper nature and substance ¹.

(6.) The Council of Trent, rated as the eighteenth Ecumenical Council, after propounding the doctrine of all men being born in original sin, declared : that it was not the intention of the Council to comprehend, within the decree which treats of original sin, the blessed and immaculate Virgin Mary the mother of God ; but that the holy Synod ratified and adopted the papal decision, which straitly forbad, until the Pope should have made up his mind on the subject, the public preaching or asserting, that the blessed Virgin was conceived in original sin ².

But Scripture pronounces : that *all* mankind, Christ only in his human nature excepted, are

¹ See below, book ii. chap. 4. § VII.

² Declarat tamen hæc ipsa sancta Synodus, non esse suæ intentionis, comprehendere in hoc decreto, ubi de peccato originali agitur, beatam et immaculatam Virginem Mariam Dei genetricem ; sed observandas esse constitutiones felicis recordationis Sixti Papæ IV, sub pœnis in eis constitutionibus contentis, quas innovat. Concil. Trident. sess. v. p. 14. Sanctissimus dominus noster, post longam et maturam discussionem,—decrevit et præcepit, ac præsentis decreti virtute mandat et præcipit omnibus et singulis cujusque ordinis,—ut in posterum, donec articulus hujusmodi a S. Sede Apostolica fuerit definitus, vel per sanctitatem suam et Sedem Apostolicam fuerit aliter ordinatum, non audeat, in publicis concionibus, lectionibus, conclusionibus, et aliis quibuscumque actibus publicis, asserere, quod eadem beata Virgo fuerit concepta cum peccato originali. Ibid. p. 24, 25.

conceived and born in sin¹. The Council of Trent, therefore, *forbids* us to preach and assert, what Scripture *enjoins* us to preach and assert.

(7.) The Council of Trent declared: that, although Christ instituted the Eucharist in *two* kinds, and although he *thus* administered it to his Apostles; yet we are bound to confess, that the whole and entire Christ and the true sacrament are taken only under *one* kind, that the recipients of the Eucharist only under *one* kind are defrauded of no grace, and that the censurers of the administration of the Eucharist under *one* kind only to the Laity and the non-officiating Clergy are accursed².

But Christ (as the very Council itself, with an assurance paralleled only by that of the Council of Constance, actually confessed) authoritatively instituted the Eucharist under *two* kinds; administered it, under *both* kinds, to the Apostles, who, at that time (even if we admit them to have been then ordained to the ministry), were assuredly not officiating; and gave no warrant for the presumptuous and indecent sacrilege, as Pope Gelasius and Pope Leo well stigmatise the profane innovation, of administering it only under *one* kind³.

¹ Rom. iii. 10. v. 12—19. 2 Corinth. v. 21. 1 Peter ii. 22.

² Concil. Trident. sess. xxi. c. 3. can. i, ii, iii. p. 204, 205, 206.

³ *Insuper declarat, quamvis Redemptor noster in suprema illa cœna hoc sacramentum in duabus speciebus instituerit et Apostolis tradiderit, tamen fatendum esse, etiam sub altera*

(8.) The Council of Trent decreed: that the person, who should censure the practice of not

tantum specie totum atque integrum Christum verumque sacramentum sumi; ac propterea, quod ad fructum attinet, nulla gratia necessaria ad salutem eos defraudari, qui unam speciem solam accipiunt. Concil. Trident. sess. xxi. c. 3. p. 204. Vide etiam Concil. Constant. sess. xiii. Labb. Concil. vol. xii. p. 100.

Comperimus, quod quidam, sumpta tantummodo corporis sacri portione, a calice sacri cruoris abstineant. Qui proculdubio, quia nescio qua superstitione docentur obstringi, aut integra sacramenta percipiant, aut integris arceantur: quia divisio unius ejusdemque mysterii, sine *grandi sacrilegio*, non potest provenire. Pap. Gelas. apud Gratian. de Consecrat. dist. ii. c. 12.

Quum, ad tegendam infidelitatem suam, nostris audeant interesse mysteriis, tam sacramentorum communione se temperant, ut interdum tutius lateant, ore indigno Christi corpus accipiunt, sanguinem autem redemptionis nostræ haurire omnino declinant. Quod ideo vestram volumus scire sanctitatem, ut vobis hujusmodi homines et hisce manifestentur indicis; et, quorum deprehensa fuerit *sacrilega simulatio*, notati et proditi a sanctorum societate, sacerdotum autoritate pellantur. Pap. Leon. serm. quadrages. iv.

The *sacrilegious miscreants* (to adopt the phraseology of the two Popes Gelasius and Leo), who wished to communicate under the kind of bread *only*, were the Manichæans. These heretics were the original mutilaters of the Eucharist; as their predecessors, the Gnostics, were the original advocates of image-worship. See Iren. adv. hæ. lib. i. c. 24. § 9. Epiph. adv. hæ. lib. i. hæ. 27. Yet, what was rank sacrilege and idolatrous impiety in *one* age of the Church, became, in *another* age, orthodoxy so indisputable as to be sanctioned even under the penalty of a bitter anathema.

With such naked historical facts as these staring him in the

celebrating Mass in the vulgar tongue, is accursed¹.

Scripture forbids the celebration of divine service in an unknown language².

(9.) The Council of Trent decreed: that the souls of the faithful, after death, pass into purgatory, ere they pass into heaven³.

face, Dr. Trevern has absolutely the undaunted assurance to gloze in manner following.

Mais peut-être l'Eglise Catholique avoit-elle dans les derniers temps outrepassé les bornes dans sa pratique et dans son enseignement? Bien moins encore. Ses principes, une fois définis, sont irrévocables: elle-même y est immuablement enchaînée par des liens qu'il lui est dorénavant impossible de briser. *Discuss. Amic. lett. xvi. vol. ii. p. 324.*

What? Were the principles of the Catholic Church (as Dr. Trevern ridiculously calls the provincial Latin Church) *irrevocable*, when two Popes solemnly and judicially pronounced, that *communion under one kind was a great sacrilege*? But the Romish Priesthood are not very curious as to *FACTS*, when the interest of their Church is to be subserved. Under this influence, Dr. Trevern will tell us; that *her principles are irrevocable*: and Mr. Husenbeth, not a whit behind his gallican master, will gravely assure us, in absolute defiance of testimony; that *all ecclesiastical writers, without one exception, for fifteen centuries down to the time of the Reformation, vouch unanimously and expressly for the Roman Episcopate of St. Peter!*

¹ Si quis dixerit,—lingua tantum vulgari Missam celebrari debere;—anathema sit. *Concil. Trident. sess. xxii. can. ix. p. 244.*

² 1 Corinth. xiv. 1—26.

³ *Concil. Trident. sess. vi. can. xxx. p. 60. sess. xxv. p. 505, 506.*

Scripture declares: that those, who die in the Lord, are blessed, and rest from their labours. And, accordingly, it exhibits the soul of Lazarus, as passing immediately into that portion of Hades or the separate state which is denominated *Abraham's bosom*: while it describes the soul of the rich man, as confined in that other portion of Hades, which is set forth, not as a transient preparatory purgatory, but as a dungeon of fearful prelibatory punishment to receive its completion in gehenna¹.

(10.) The Council of Trent decreed: that the old vulgate latin translation of the Scriptures, as it stood in the year 1546, ought to be received as authentic and canonical².

But, in the year 1590, this immaculate authentic version was published, by Pope Sixtus V, with sundry corrections made by his own unerring hand; as he himself is laudably careful to inform us, in his preface to his improved edition: and, little more than two years afterward, the improved

¹ Rev. xiv. 13. Luke xvi. 19—31. Our english translators, using, in Luke xvi. 23, the old word *Hell* in its original sense, have probably misled many persons into the false notion, that the parable describes the rich man as being in what *we* now commonly denominate *Hell*. But such is *not* the intimation of the parable. The separate soul of the rich man is said to be, not in *Gehenna*, but in *Hades*: ἐν τῷ ᾗδῃ. When the final place of endless punishment, after the reunion of the soul and the body, is meant, the entirely different word *Gehenna* is always employed.

² Concil. Trident. sess. iv. p. 8, 9.

edition of the already immaculate and authentic version received itself yet additional improvements, even to the formidable amount of some thousands, when the Latin Vulgate appeared before the admiring Public in the edition of Pope Clement VIII¹.

(11.) The Council of Trent pronounced: that the sacrifice of the Mass is offered, not only for the sins and necessities of the living, but likewise for the relief of the dead in Christ not hitherto fully and sufficiently purified².

Yet, with splendid inconsistency, this self-same Council defined the effect of Extreme Unction to be: that it washes out the remains of sin, and effectually cleanses us from those faults which might still require to be expiated³.

(12.) The Council of Trent declared all those persons to be accursed, who should deny the apocryphal books of Tobit, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, and Maccabees so far as the two first portions of that history extend, to be sacred and canonical⁴.

But the primitive Church, as we learn from the distinct and concurring testimony of Melito and Cyril and Ruffinus and Jerome and Epiphanius and Athanasius, rejected the apocryphal books

¹ See Stillingfleet's Ration. Acc. part i. chap. 7. p. 213.

² Concil. Trident. sess. xxii. c. 2. p. 239, 240.

³ *Unctio delicta, si quæ sint adhuc expianda, ac peccati reliquias abstergit.* Concil. Trident. sess. xiv. c. 2. p. 161.

⁴ Concil. Trident. sess. iv. p. 8.

from the Canon of Scripture : and, with the temporary exception of the Epistle of Baruch appended to the book of Jeremiah, reckoned up the canonical books of the Old Testament, precisely as the Jews have always done, and as the Reformed Churches still continue to do¹.

2. Let us next proceed to the testimony of certain of the Fathers in regard to points, which immediately involve the conciliar infallibility maintained by the advocates of the Latin Church.

For the better perception of the force of this testimony, it will be necessary to premise a few observations respecting the romish doctrine of Tradition : a doctrine, for which, through the medium of a most gross misrepresentation, the authority of the Ancients is confidently adduced.

Irenæus, about the year 175, insists, with much sound sense, upon the mighty strength of the argument to be derived from the uniformity of apostolic tradition in every distinct Church which then existed². The Romanists, eagerly catching up the phraseology of the venerable primitive Father, wish to claim *him*, as the unexceptionable

¹ Melit. Sardens. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 25. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. iv. p. 37, 38. Ruffin. Expos. in Symbol. Apost. ad calc. Cyprian. Oper. p. 26, 27. Hieron. Prolog. Scriptur. Galeat. Oper. vol. iii. p. 287. Epiphan. de mensur. et ponder. Oper. p. 300. Athan. Epist. Festal. xxxix. Oper. vol. ii. p. 44, 45. Succinct. Script. Synop. Oper. vol. ii. p. 61—63, 101, 133.

² Iren. adv. hæc. lib. i. c. 2, 3. p. 34—36.

advocate and early witness for Tradition in *their* sense of the word: and, by this dishonest management, they have, it is to be feared, deceived numbers, to the no small danger of their eternal salvation. But, in truth, no two things can be more different, than *Tradition* in the mouth of Irenèus, and *Tradition* in the mouth of a Latin Ecclesiastic. By *Tradition*, Irenèus means *the oral delivery of the SELF-SAME matters which the Bible delivers in writing*: so that all *unlettered* Catechumens received *exclusively* from oral delivery those identical doctrines, which they *might* have equally received, and which more literate persons actually *did* additionally receive, from the written word of God¹. But, by *Tradition*, the Roman Church means *a concurrent and coëqual SUPPLEMENT to Scripture*: a supplement, which, whether it re-

¹ Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 3, 4. p. 170—172. Quid autem, si neque Apostoli quidem Scripturas reliquissent nobis, nonne oportebat ordinem sequi traditionis, quam tradiderunt iis quibus committebant ecclesias? Cui ordinationi assentiunt multæ gentes barbarorum eorum, qui in Christum credunt, sine caractere vel atramento scriptam habentes per spiritum in cordibus suis salutem, et veterem traditionem diligenter custodientes.

Irenèus then proceeds to give us, *what* these unlettered barbarians had learned by oral tradition or by the delivery of evangelical truths through the medium of oral catechumenical instruction: and we find them to be, not any matters respecting which the written word is *silent*, and which must therefore (according to the Romanists) be *supplied* from oral tradition; but the precise great fundamental truths, which the written word *inculcates*.

spects faith or practice, is to be received and venerated with an *equal* pious affection and reverence with God's own written word, on the professed ground that it is *no less* a divine revelation than Scripture itself; a supplement, which makes good the alleged *deficiencies* of the written word, so that God's will and God's revelations are to be sought, not *exclusively* in the written word, but *partly* and *equally* (so far as authority is concerned) in what the Latins are pleased to call the unwritten word¹.

Now, except in the way of trifling or unessential ceremonies which might be rejected or retained at pleasure and which are no way necessary to salvation, the ancients recognised nothing of Tradition as explained and defended by the modern advocates of the Church of Rome². The gnosticising

¹ Perspicuus hanc veritatem et disciplinam contineri, in libris scriptis, et sine scripto traditionibus, quæ ipsius Christi ore ab Apostolis acceptæ, aut ab ipsis Apostolis Spiritu Sancto dictante quasi per manus traditæ, ad nos usque pervenerunt, orthodoxorum Patrum exempla secuta, *sacrosancta Synodus*, omnes libros tam veteris quam novi Testamenti, cum utriusque unus Deus sit auctor; nec non traditiones ipsas, tum ad fidem tum ad mores pertinentes, tanquam vel ore tenus a Christo vel a Spiritu Sancto dictatas et continua successione in Ecclesia Catholica conservatas, *PARI* pietatis affectu ac reverentia, suscipit et veneratur. Concil. Trident. sess. iv. p. 7, 8.

² Thus Tertullian mentions the early prevalence of the custom of signing with the sign of the cross, though Scripture confessedly gives no warrant for any such practice. Tertull. de coron. mil. § 3. Oper. p. 449. So long as this practice

heretics, indeed, for the purpose of establishing their monstrous speculations, insisted upon a concurrent supplemental oral tradition: which, in principle, was the very same as the tradition asserted by the Latins; and which, in application, was used after a precisely similar manner¹. But

be used simply to indicate, that we profess to know nothing save Jesus Christ and him crucified: it is perfectly harmless, though in no wise obligatory. But, if it be industriously used for the purpose of scaring away devils and the like: it then becomes a contemptible and mischievous superstition.

¹ Nec enim fas est dicere, quoniam ante prædicaverunt (scil. Apostoli) quam perfectam haberent agnitionem: sicut quidam audent dicere, gloriantes emendatores se esse Apostolorum. Postea enim quam surrexit Dominus noster a morte, et induti sunt superveniente Spiritu Sancto virtutem ex alto, de omnibus adimpleti sunt, et habuerunt perfectam agnitionem, exierunt in fines terræ, ea quæ a Deo nobis bona sunt evangelizantes, et cœlestem pacem hominibus annunciantes, qui quidem et omnes pariter et singuli eorum habentes evangelium Dei:—quibus si quis non assentit, spernit quidem participes Domini, spernit autem et ipsum Christum Dominum, spernit vero et Patrem, et est a semetipso damnatus, resistens et repugnans saluti suæ; quod faciunt omnes hæretici. Cum enim ex Scripturis arguuntur, in accusationem convertuntur ipsarum Scripturarum: quasi non rectè habeant; neque sint ex autoritate; et quia variè sint dictæ; et quia non possit ex his inveniri veritas ab his, qui nesciant traditionem. Non enim per literas traditam illam, sed per vivam vocem: ob quam causam, et Paulum dixisse; *Sapientiam autem loquimur inter perfectos, sapientiam autem non mundi hujus*—Cum autem ad eam iterum traditionem, quæ est ab Apostolis, quæ per successiones Presbyterorum in Ecclesiis custoditur, provocamus eos qui adversantur traditioni: dicent, se, non solum Presby-

Irenèus, the identical witness who is actually claimed as their own by the Roman Ecclesiastics, bears his testimony, in the very strongest terms, *against* this bastard supplemental Tradition : and, in the place of it, or rather in direct opposition to it, he would set up that legitimate apostolical Tradition, which, *alike* and *harmoniously*, was handed down both in the written word and in the oral instructions delivered to the Catechumens by each several then existing Church without any variation ¹.

teris sed etiam Apostolis existentes sapientiores, sinceram invenisse veritatem. Iren. adv. hær. lib. iii. c. 1, 2. p. 169, 170.

¹ Traditionem itaque Apostolorum, in toto mundo manifestatam, in Ecclesia adest perspicere omnibus, qui vera velint audire. Iren. adv. hær. lib. iii. c. 3. p. 170.

What this apostolical tradition, common alike to all then existing Churches, propounded, was not something *unrevealed* in the written word, but simply the articles of faith *set forth by* that written word itself. See Iren. adv. hær. lib. iii. c. 4, 5. and lib. i. c. 2, 3.

Yet, with all these passages under his very eyes, Mr. Berington actually cites Irenèus, as a voucher for Tradition, according to the sense alike ascribed to that word both by the old Gnostics and the modern Church of Rome : that is to say, according to his own definition of the term, he actually cites him, as vouching for the reception of *points of catholic belief and practice* NOT committed to writing in the Holy Scriptures ; when, all the while, Irenèus is stoutly condemning this identical claim, of *establishing points of catholic belief and practice from tradition* NOT committed to writing in the Holy Scriptures, on the part of the gnosticising heretics. NON enim per literas

The decisions, then, of the Council of Trent and of other Councils of the same stamp, are professedly built : not simply upon Scripture, even according to their own gratuitous interpretation of Scripture ; but also, with declared EQUAL pious affection and reverence ¹, upon sundry oral traditions, which they are pleased to call *apostolical*, and which propound both doctrines and practices respecting which Scripture itself is profoundly silent. And these decisions, thus professedly built upon a foundation altogether *distinct* from Scripture, we are, under the very penalty of a curse, required to admit, as infallible determinations from which no appeal can lie even to Scripture itself.

These observations being premised, we shall now be prepared to hear and to feel the full force of the testimony, so distinctly borne, by certain of the ancient Fathers, both to the sole authority of Scripture as a rule of Faith, and to the fallibility of all Councils whether provincial or ecumenical.

traditam illam (scil. veritatem), *sed per vivam vocem* ; was the express allegation of those heretics, *condemned*, not *approved*, by Mr. Berington's witness Irenæus. See Faith of Cathol. p. 130, 132.

Thus unblushingly, on the pretended venerable authority of Irenæus, is error propagated among the ignorant or the indolent or the unwary.

¹ PARI pietatis affectu ac reverentia. Concil. Trident. sess. iv. p. 8.

(1.) Let us first attend to the venerable Irenèus.

*The disposition of our salvation we know not through any other persons, than those by whom the Gospel has come to us: which then, indeed, they themselves orally preached; but which afterward, according to the will of God, they traditionally handed down to us, in the WRITTEN word, as the future basis and column of our faith*¹.

*We, following one only true God as our teacher, and having his DISCOURSES as the rule of truth, always say the same things respecting the same matters*².

(2.) Let us next hear Tertullian.

*As for Hermogenes, let his shop produce the WRITTEN word. If he be unable to produce the WRITTEN word in substantiation of his tenets, let him fear that Woe which is destined to those who either add to it or who detract from it*³.

¹ Non enim per alios dispositionem salutis nostræ cognovimus, quam per eos per quos Evangelium pervenit ad nos: quod quidem tunc præconiaverunt; postea vero, per Dei voluntatem, in *Scripturis* nobis tradiderunt fundamentum et columnam fidei nostræ futurum. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 1. p. 169.

The apostolic tradition, we see, acknowledged by Irenèus, was contained in the *written* word. Whether that word was read or orally communicated; still there was no diversity in the truths propounded: for, in fact, they were identical.

² Nos autem unum et solum verum Deum doctorem sequentes, et regulam veritatis habentes ejus *sermones*, de iisdem semper eadem dicimus. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iv. c. 69. p. 300.

³ *Scriptum* esse doceat Hermogenis officina. Si non est

(3.) We may next hear Hippolytus.

There is one God, whom we know from no other authority, than the holy SCRIPTURES. For, just as a person, who wished to exercise the wisdom of this world, would not be able to attain it save by attention to the dogmata of the philosophers: so, if we wish to exercise piety toward God, we can exercise it from no other quarter than from God's own oracles. Whatsoever matters, then, the divine SCRIPTURES declare; these let us learn: and, whatsoever matters they teach; these let us recognise:—not according to our own humour or according to our own mind, neither with any wresting of the things delivered from God: but, even as he himself wished to shew us through the holy SCRIPTURES, thus let us learn¹.

(4.) We may next attend to Cyprian.

Whence is that pretended Tradition? Does it descend from the authority of the Lord and the Gospels: or does it come down from the mandates

scriptum, timeat Væ illud adjicientibus aut detraherentibus destinatum. Tertull. adv. Hermog. § 12. Oper. p. 346.

¹ Εἷς Θεός, ὃν οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἐπιγιγνώσκουμεν, ἀδελφοί, ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν. "Ὁν γὰρ τρόπον εἰάν τις βουληθῆ τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἀσκεῖν, οὐκ ἄλλως δυνήσεται τούτου τυχεῖν, εἰάν μὴ δόγμασι φιλοσόφων ἐντύχη· τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ὅσοι θεοσέβειαν ἀσκεῖν βουλόμεθα, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἀσκήσομεν ἢ ἐκ τῶν λογίων τοῦ Θεοῦ. "Ὅσα τοίνυν κηρύσσουν αἱ θεῖαι γραφαί, ἴδωμεν· καὶ ὅσα διδάσκουσιν, ἐπιγνώμεν.—μὴ κατ' ἰδίαν προαίρεσιν, μηδὲ κατ' ἴδιον νοῦν, μηδὲ βιαζόμενοι τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ δεδομένα· ἀλλ', ὃν τρόπον αὐτὸς ἐβουλήθη διὰ τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν δεῖξαι, οὕτως ἴδωμεν. Hippol. cont. Noet, § ix. Oper. vol. ii. p. 12, 13.

and letters of the Apostles? God testifies, that those things are to be done, which are WRITTEN—If, then, any such precept can be found, either in the Gospel, or in the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles:—let this divine and holy tradition be observed¹.

(5.) We may next hear Cyril of Jerusalem.

Respecting the divine and holy mysteries of the faith, not even a tittle ought to be delivered without the authority of the holy SCRIPTURES. Neither ought any thing to be propounded, on the basis of mere credibility, or through the medium of plausible ratiocination. Neither yet repose the slightest confidence in the bare assertions of me your Catechist, unless you shall receive from the holy SCRIPTURES full demonstration of the matters propounded. For the security of our faith depends, not upon verbal trickery, but upon demonstration from the holy SCRIPTURES².

(6.) Let us next hear the great Athanasius.

¹ Unde est ista traditio? Utrumne de dominica et evangelica auctoritate descendens, an de Apostolorum mandatis atque epistolis veniens? Ea enim facienda esse quæ scripta sunt, Deus testatur—Si ergo aut in Evangelio præcipitur, aut in Apostolorum Epistolis aut Actibus continetur:—observetur divina hæc et sancta traditio. Cyprian. Epist. lxxiv. Oper. vol. ii. p. 211.

² Δεῖ γὰρ, περὶ τῶν θείων καὶ ἁγίων τῆς πίστεως μυστηρίων, μηδὲ τὸ τυχὸν ἀνευ τῶν θείων παραδίδοσθαι γραφῶν· μηδὲ ἀπλῶς πιθανότητι καὶ λόγων κατασκευαῖς παραφέρεσθαι· μηδὲ ἐμοὶ τῶν ταῦτά σοι λέγοντι ἀπλῶς πιστεύσης, ἐὰν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῶν καταγελλομένων ἀπὸ τῶν θείων μὴ λάβῃς γραφῶν· ἡ σωτηρία γὰρ αὕτη τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν, οὐκ ἐξ εὐρεσιλογίας, ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἀποδείξεως τῶν θείων ἐστὶ γραφῶν. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. iv. p. 30.

The holy and divinely inspired SCRIPTURES are sufficient for the declaration of the truth¹.

Let a person solely learn the matters, which are set forth in the SCRIPTURES: for the demonstrations, contained in them, are, in order to the settling of this point, quite sufficient and complete².

If ye are disciples of the Gospels,—walk according to what is WRITTEN. But, if you choose to allege any other matters beyond what is WRITTEN: why do you contend against us, who will never be persuaded either to hear or to speak a single syllable beyond God's WRITTEN word³?

These; namely, the canonical books of Scripture, from which the apocryphal books are carefully excluded: These are the fountains of salvation; so that he, who thirsts, may drink from the oracles contained in them. In these ALONE is the evangelical school of piety. Let no one add to them: and let no one detract from them⁴.

¹ Αὐτάρκεις μὲν γὰρ εἰσὶν αἱ ἅγιοι καὶ θεόπνευστοι γραφαί, πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπαγγελίαν. Athan. Orat. cont. gent. Oper. vol. i. p. 1.

² Μόνον τὰ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς μανθανέτω· αὐτάρκη γὰρ καὶ ἰκανὰ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς κείμενα περὶ τούτου παραδείγματα. Athan. ad Serap. Spirit. S. non esse creat. Oper. vol. i. p. 359.

³ Εἰ τοίνυν μαθηταὶ ἐστε τῶν εὐαγγελίων,—στοιχεῖτε τοῖς γεγραμμένοις καὶ γενομένοις. Εἰ δὲ ἕτερα παρὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα λαλεῖν βούλεσθε, τί πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαμάχεσθε, τοὺς μῆτε ἀκούειν μῆτε λέγειν παρὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα πειθόμενους; Athan. de incarn. Christ. Oper. vol. i. p. 484.

⁴ Ταῦτα πηγὰὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου, ὥστε τὸν διψῶντα ἐμφορεῖσθαι τῶν ἐν τούτοις λογίων. Ἐν τούτοις μόνοις τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας διδασ-

It is the part of mere triflers to propound and to speak the things which are NOT WRITTEN ¹.

What the WRITTEN word has never revealed, you will never be able to discover ².

(7.) We may next attend to Jerome.

As we deny not the things, which are WRITTEN : so the things, which are NOT WRITTEN, we reject. We believe, that God was born of a virgin ; because we read it : but, that Mary was married after her parturition, we believe not ; because we read it not ³.

καλεῖον εὐαγγελίζεται. Μηδεὶς τούτοις ἐπιβαλλέτω· μηδὲ τούτων ἀφαιρείσθω τι. Athan. Epist. Fest. xxxix. Oper. vol. ii. p. 45.

Immediately afterward, Athanasius informs us, that the apocryphal books, though appointed to be read for edification, must be carefully excluded from *the acknowledged written word of God*, inasmuch as they are *not* received by the Church as *canonical*.

Ἄλλ' ἕνεκά γε πλείονος ἀκριβείας προστίθημι, καὶ τοῦτο γράφων ἀναγκάως· ὡς ὅτι ἐστὶν καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία τούτων ἔξωθεν, οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν, τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγινώσκουσι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον. Ibid. p. 45.

¹ Παιζόντων γὰρ ἴδιον ἐρωτᾶν τὰ μὴ γεγραμμένα καὶ λέγειν. Athan. Epist. ad Serap. Oper. vol. ii. p. 29.

² Ὁ γὰρ οὐκ εἶπεν ἡ γραφή, οὐχ εὐρήσεις. Athan. de S. Trin. dial. ii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 172. Orthodoxus loquitur.

³ Ut hæc, quæ *scripta* sunt, non negamus : ita ea, quæ *non sunt scripta*, renuimus. Natum Deum esse de virgine, credimus ; quia legimus : Mariam nupsisse post partum, non credimus ; quia non legimus. Hieron. adv. Helvid. c. ix. Oper. vol. ii. p. 116.

It is somewhat unfortunate, that the learned Fathers of the Council of Trent, and after them Pope Paul V., should not

*Learn, then, in the divine SCRIPTURES, through which ALONE you can understand the full will of God, that some things are prohibited and that other things are commanded, that some things are granted and that other things are persuaded*¹.

(8.) Let us next hear Basil.

*It is a manifest apostasy from the faith, and a clear proof of arrogance, either to disregard any matter of the things which are WRITTEN, or to introduce argumentatively any matter of the things which are NOT WRITTEN*².

*The things, which are WRITTEN, believe: the things, which are NOT WRITTEN, seek not after*³.

(9.) Finally, let us hear the great Augustine.

Demonstrate, from any one of the CANONICAL Apostles and Prophets, the truth of what Cyprian has written to Jubaianus: and I should then have no room for contradiction. But now, since what you produce is NOT CANONICAL; through the liberty to which the Lord has called us, I receive not the

have adopted this very simple rule of Jerome for the purpose of determining the question, whether the Virgin Mary was or was not born in original sin.

¹ Scito itaque, in *scripturis* divinis, per quas *solas* potes plenam Dei intelligere voluntatem, prohiberi quædam, præcipi quædam, concedi aliqua, nonnulla suaderi. Hieron. ad Demetriad. de virgin. Oper. vol. ix. p. 4.

² Φανερά ἐκπτωσις πίστεως, καὶ ὑπερφηφάνιας κατηγορία, ἢ ἀθετεῖν τὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων, ἢ ἐπεισάγειν τῶν μὴ γεγραμμένων. Basil. de ver. fid. Oper. vol. ii. p. 386.

³ Τοῖς γεγραμμένοις πιστεue' τὰ μὴ γεγραμμένα μὴ ζήτει. Basil. Homil. de Trin. xxix.

*decision even of a man, whose praise I cannot attain unto, with whose writings I presume not to compare my own writings, whose genius I love, with whose eloquence I am delighted, whose charity I admire, whose martyrdom I venerate*¹.

Why adduce you the authority of Cyprian for your schism, and yet reject his example for the peace of the Church? Who knows not, that the holy CANONICAL SCRIPTURE, whether of the Old or of the New Testament, is comprehended within its own certain limits? Who knows not, that, to all later episcopal letters, it is so preferred, as to exclude any permission of rising doubt or dispute, whether whatsoever is written in it be true or right? But, as for the letters of Bishops which either are written or were written after the confirmation of the Canon; if peradventure there be found in them any deviation from the truth, we may freely correct them, either by the weightier discourse of more skilful theologians, or by the better instructed prudence of other Bishops, or by the collective intervention of Councils. So again: national or provincial Councils

¹ Ac per hoc, si ea, quæ commemorasti, ab illo ad Jubaianum scripta, de aliquo Apostolorum vel Prophetarum canonico recitares: quod omnino contradicerem, non haberem. Nunc vero, quoniam *canonicum non est quod recitas*, ea libertate ad quam nos vocavit Dominus, ejus viri, cujus laudem consequi non valeo, cujus multis literis mea scripta non comparo, cujus ingenium diligo, cujus ore delector, cujus charitatem miror, cujus martyrium veneror, hoc quod aliter sapuit non accipio. August. cont. Crescon. grammat. lib. ii. c. 32. Oper. vol. vii. p. 160.

*ought, indisputably, to yield to the authority of plenary Councils, which are collected out of the whole Christian World: and plenary Councils themselves may often be AMENDED by later Councils; when, through better experience, that which was shut is opened, and that which hid is known*¹.

III. As the alleged infallibility of papally ratified Councils is, of plain necessity, altogether incompatible with the well ascertained occurrence of perpetual contradictions both to Scripture and to the primitive Church and to other Councils and even to themselves: so it is easy to perceive, how the Fathers, not only of the three first centuries but also of the fourth and fifth centuries,

¹ Cur auctoritatem Cypriani pro vestro schismate assumitis, et ejus exemplum pro Ecclesiæ pace respuitis? Quis autem nesciat, sanctam *Scripturam canonicam*, tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti, certis suis terminis contineri, eamque omnibus posterioribus episcoporum literis ita præponi, ut de illa omnino dubitari et disceptari non possit, utrum verum vel utrum rectum sit, quicquid in ea scriptum esse constiterit: episcoporum autem literas, quæ post confirmatum canonem vel scriptæ sunt vel scribuntur, et per sermonem forte sapientiosem cujuslibet in ea re peritioris, et per aliorum episcoporum graviolem auctoritatem doctioremque prudentiam, et per Concilia, licere reprehendi, si quid in eis forte a veritate deviatum est: et ipsa Concilia, quæ per singulas regiones vel provincias fiunt plenariorum Conciliorum auctoritati quæ fiunt ex universo orbe christiano, sine ullis ambagibus cedere: ipsaque plenaria sæpe priora posterioribus *emendari*; cum, aliquo experimento rerum, aperitur quod clausum erat, et cognoscitur quod latebat? August. de Baptism. cont. Donatist. lib. ii. c. 3. Oper. vol. vii. p. 37.

would have viewed the arrogant pretensions of the Roman Church to an inerrancy of deciding both doctrinal and practical points, not only upon her own dogmatical interpretation of canonical Scripture, and not only upon the insufficient authority of the uninspired and primitively rejected Apocrypha, but even upon an indigested chaotic mass of silly oral traditions vainly indicative of matters respecting which God's written word is entirely silent.

The Bible ALONE, professedly shutting out the Apocrypha which the Tridentine Synod has presumptuously declared to be canonical, those early Fathers acknowledge, as the authoritative rule of faith and practice. Traditions or speculations, which set forth points unpropounded or contradicted by *Scripture*, they strenuously and systematically reject. *To the Law and to the Testimony*, is their constant language. Whatever cannot be proved from the *written* word of God, they pronounce to be undemonstrated and unobligatory. Cyril charges his Catechumens, not blindly and servilely to acquiesce in his statements, but to try by *Scripture* all that he advanced, and if found contrary to it to reject his lectures without the least ceremony or hesitation: Jerome, and the whole concurring chorus of those ancient theologians, avow themselves to receive *only* the things which are *written*; while the things, which are *not written*, they positively and uniformly throw aside: and, as Augustine calls for demon-

stration, not from mere human authority, but from the *canonical writings* of the Apostles and Prophets; so he explicitly tells us, that provincial Councils may be corrected by Ecumenical Councils, and that earlier Ecumenical Councils themselves may be *amended* by better advised later Ecumenical Councils.

IN FINE, THE WRITTEN WORD OF GOD ALONE THEY ADMIT TO BE TRULY INFALLIBLE.

CHAPTER III.

SUPREMACY.

THE Latin Theologians claim for the See of Rome the right of a dominant Supremacy over the whole Church Catholic: so that those, who are not in subjection to that See, are to be accounted as aliens and rebels and schismatics.

Now the plea, on which this claim is set up, is the transmission of the dominant Supremacy of St. Peter to his canonical successors the Bishops of Rome.

In such a plea, it is evident, that two historical facts are alleged: *the dominant Supremacy of St. Peter over the entire Catholic Church; and the constantly acknowledged dominant Supremacy of the Roman Bishops, on the specific ground that they are severally St. Peter's successors.*

Hence our present business is to produce testimony against each of these two alleged historical facts.

I. The testimony against *the dominant Supremacy of St. Peter* must obviously be sought in the volume of the New Testament.

Here our purpose must be to inquire, not whether the holy Apostle might or might not, in some cases, be recognised, by his brethren in the Apostleship, as the first among equals in ecclesiastical authority: for, with this very inferior and (in truth) very insignificant question, either affirmatively or negatively, we have no manner of concern. But our purpose must be to inquire, whether the whole tenor of the Greek Scriptures be not absolutely fatal to the notion; that Peter was the sovereign monarch of the Catholic Church, that his dominant supremacy extended over every member of it, and that all the other Apostles (so far from being his ecclesiastical equals) both rightfully owed and cheerfully paid to him a due canonical obedience: for *this*, not the *former*, is the *real* question which must be brought under discussion.

1. The positive testimony, against *the dominant Supremacy of St. Peter*, may be arranged under the following particulars.

(1.) Shortly after the ascension, we find Peter apparently taking the lead in the important business of appointing a successor to the miserable Judas. He acts, at least, as a sort of prolocutor; and, in so far, he might seem to have some kind of præeminence: but, as we advance in the narrative, the phantom of an absolute primacy flits away from our grasp and vanishes into impalpable ether.

Had Peter been the divinely-appointed vicar of Christ upon earth; *he*, no doubt, acting as the

Lord's special representative, would have appointed, by his own exclusive sovereign authority, the new suffragan Apostle: for, in regard to such elevated rank, it were plainly inconsistent to come to any other conclusion.

But, in point of fact, we do not find, that this was the case. *The whole Assembly*, not *he himself specially*, appointed two candidates for the vacant office: and, when that preliminary step had been *collectively* taken, the matter was referred, not even then to Peter, but by lot to the Supreme Head of the Church himself.

From these recorded circumstances I infer, that the prolocution of the zealous and warm-hearted Peter was incidental rather than official ¹.

(2.) The next time, that we hear of Peter, is on the day of Pentecost. Through the descent of the Holy Ghost, the Apostles spake with diverse tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance: and the strangers in Jerusalem were not a little amazed at the circumstance. Whereupon Peter, standing up with the eleven, explained to them the fact and nature and object of the miracle.

Now the substance of the explanatory speech, ascribed by name to Peter, must certainly, both from the turn of the expression and from the necessity of the narrative, have been alike delivered by *all* the Apostles. Had Peter *alone* spoken in a *single* particular tongue, a small part

¹ Acts i. 13—26.

only of the multitude would have understood him. Doubtless, therefore, the same matters were delivered by the other Apostles in other tongues to other divisions of the multitude : and, accordingly, we read, not that Peter stood up *solely*, but that he stood up *jointly with the eleven* ; not that the multitude in return addressed Peter *exclusively*, but that they spake unto Peter and *unto the rest of the Apostles*¹.

(3.) Soon after this transaction, we find St. Peter, not enacting the sovereign primate, but submitting with St. John to the collective authority of the Apostolic College.

*When the Apostles which were at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the word of God, THEY sent unto them Peter and John*².

It is easy to conceive, that Christ's monarchical vicar might send two of his dependant suffragans, in the quality of his legates, *a latere*, upon an ecclesiastical errand : but it is very difficult to explain, how the dependant suffragans took upon themselves to send Christ's monarchical vicar and their own lawful dominant primate upon the business of the Church, thus apparently governed in common by a spiritual aristocracy, not by a single absolute spiritual sovereign.

(4.) In course of time, the Gentiles, no less than the Jews, received the word of God from

¹ Acts ii. 1—37.

² Ibid. viii. 14.

the honoured hand of Peter. But this circumstance displeased those of the Circumcision : and they forthwith proceeded to contend with their ruling primate. Yet that high officer, most unaccountably, on the principles of our modern Latin Theologians, did not silence them by the divine authority of his sovereign vicariate. So far from it, he was content meekly to vindicate himself on the very sufficient score, that it was not for *him* to withstand God. Satisfied by this rational process, the gainsayers held their peace and glorified the Lord. It is evident, however, that they submitted, not to Peter's primate mandate, but to the very ample reason which he gave for his conduct ¹.

(5.) We next have an account of what is usually called the first Council at Jerusalem.

In this Synod, after much previous disputation, Peter is said to have risen up and spoken. He was followed by Barnabas and Paul. And the business was finally closed by James : who, apparently as the President of the Council, gave his ultimate sentence. Barsabas and Silas were then sent to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas, not however by Peter singly in his supposed capacity of dominant primate, but by the Apostles and Presbyters collectively in conjunction with the whole Church : Peter himself not being even so much

¹ Acts xi. 1—18.

as once mentioned in the decretal letter, which runs in the general name of the Apostles and Presbyters and Brethren ¹.

From such a narrative if we could collect any thing specific, it would be, that James, not Peter, was the primate of the Apostolic College; and a very plausible case might be made out on the strength of the circumstances, that James acted as the first stationary Bishop of Jerusalem, and that the Church of Jerusalem was acknowledged by the fifth Ecumenical Council to be *the Mother of all Churches* ²: but, in truth, we learn nothing, as to the dominant primacy of *either* Apostle. James seems to have presided on the occasion: but, if that were the case, he was a mere temporary president. The decree of the Council avowedly rests on the general collective authority of the Apostles and Presbyters acting in harmonious conjunction with the whole Church. Neither Peter, nor Peter's legate, ruled the Assembly: nor do the concurrence and sanction of Peter seem to have been at all more necessary than the concurrence and sanction of any other Apostle, in order to make the decree valid and canonical. This primitive Council, in short, furnishes no warrant for any of those arbitrary and fanciful rules, by which the Church of Rome, in the midst

¹ Acts xv. 4—31.

² Euseb. *Histor. Eccles.* lib. ii. c. 23. lib. iv. c. 5. *Epist. Synod. Concil. Constant.* ii. apud Theodoret. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. c. 9.

of jarring Synods, vainly attempts to preserve a shadow of chimerical Infallibility.

(6.) If, however, *all* the Apostles were mere suffragans of their divinely instituted dominant lord and primate St. Peter: then, of course, St. Paul likewise must have sustained toward him the same relative character of dutiful submission and canonical obedience. But, in point of fact, the very reverse of this proves to have been the case: nor, on latin principles, do I discern, how St. Paul can be viewed under any other aspect than that of an always negatively independent and sometimes positively contumacious rebel.

As Paul evidently labours in perfect independence of Peter and without the slightest reference to his alleged sovereignty: so, in strict harmony with his practice, he, carefully and (as it were) jealously, intimates, that he derived his authority, neither from Peter nor from James nor from any other of the Apostles, but by revelation of Jesus Christ alone; and, agreeably to this claim of perfect independence, when he met Peter at Antioch, he *withstood him to his face, because, as he assures the Galatians, he was to be blamed*¹.

How such conduct, on the part of a confessedly inspired Apostle, can be reconciled with the latin theory of Peter's monarchical dominant Supremacy, I confess myself utterly unable to discern.

2. To the positive testimony against the mo-

¹ Galat. i. 11—24. ii. 1—16.

narchal rule of St. Peter, we may properly sub-join that negative testimony which is furnished by the total silence of the Evangelical Writers.

If the doctrine of *the dominant Supremacy of Peter*, with its adjunct of *the Roman Succession*, as stated in the Tridentine Confession of Pope Pius IV, be an article of the catholic faith so essentially necessary, that no person, as we are gravely assured, can be saved without its unhesitating reception : we may reasonably expect, that it would be distinctly and explicitly stated in Holy Scripture¹. Yet, what the Roman Doctors have determined to be necessary to salvation, the Bible never so much as once even mentions. Not a hint on the topic of the Apostle's absolute monarchy is dropped in any part of the inspired ecclesiastical history : nor is Peter himself throughout his two Epistles, or Paul throughout his fourteen Epistles, a whit more communicative. Equally silent are the Epistles of James and John and Jude : nor do we find any assertion of this alleged dominant primacy in the book of the Apocalypse.

II. Scripture, then, both positively and negatively, testifies against the vain figment of *St.*

¹ Sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Romanam Ecclesiam, omnium Ecclesiarum matrem et magistram, agnosco : Romanoque Pontifici, beati Petri Apostolorum principis successori ac Jesu Christi vicario, veram obedientiam spondeo ac juro—Hanc veram catholicam fidem, *extra quam nemo salvus esse potest*, integram et inviolatam retinere et confiteri. Prof. Fid. Trident. ex bull. Pii IV. apud Syllog. Confess. p. 5.

Peter's absolute ecclesiastical monarchy: and we shall soon find, that History no less testifies against the pretended fact, of *the constantly acknowledged dominant supremacy of the Roman Bishops on the specific ground that they are all equally St. Peter's successors.*

1. Let us first, by way of prelude, notice the strangely indecent and grossly absurd consequence, which, even at the very threshold of our inquiry, must, as History assures us, inevitably result from the favourite alleged fact of the Latin Theologians.

According to Irenæus, the Church of Rome was jointly founded by the two Apostles Peter and Paul: and the Bishop, whom in the first instance they appointed to superintend the newly organised Society, was Linus¹. Now Peter *certainly* died before John, and *probably* before several other of the Apostles. Such being the case, a most extraordinary inversion of all ecclesiastical discipline must, according to the latin theory, have inevitably followed. If Peter himself were the first dominant primate, and if his monarchy were ordained to descend to his asserted roman successors: then, upon the death of Peter, the existing Bishop of Rome, whoever that Bishop might be at the time of the Apostle's demise, would become the spiritual monarch or the canonical dominant primate of the entire Church Catholic. John, how-

¹ Iren. adv. hæer. lib. iii. c. 3. p. 170.

ever, was undoubtedly alive, when Peter died : for he is known to have long survived *all* his brethren. Hence, as John had, by the latin theory, been a suffragan of the dominant primate Peter ; he would plainly, on the death of Peter, become, by the same latin theory, a suffragan of the new roman dominant primate who was Peter's legitimate successor in the universal monarchy : and thus, at length, we shall be brought to the goodly conclusion ; that *An inspired Apostle of the Lord owed the canonical obedience of a dependent suffragan to an uninspired Bishop of Rome.*

2. After this prelude, we may profitably observe, both the early unscrupulous opposition to the dictates of the Roman Bishop, and the fair acknowledgment even on the part of some Roman Bishops themselves that they neither possessed nor claimed any such dominant monarchal authority as that which has been so bountifully bestowed upon them by more modern Latin Divines.

(1.) In the second century, Victor of Rome, a very intemperate and apparently a very foolish Prelate, thought fit to excommunicate the Asiatic Bishops, because, forsooth, they refused to observe Easter at the same time with himself.

To this impudent usurpation of a dominant authority which did not belong to him, his episcopal equals very properly refused to submit : and, instead of bowing to a presumptuous individual who (according to Pope Gregory VII and the present Roman Doctors) was the divinely lawful monarch

of the Universal Church, they, in conjunction with the excellent Irenæus of Lyons in the West, sharply reprehended him in written documents which were extant in the time of Eusebius, and refused to make any alteration in the practice to which they had always been accustomed ¹.

(2.) Toward the close of the same second century or at the beginning of the third, the Roman Bishop asserted his right to a dominant supremacy in the Church (so early did this vain figment begin to blossom), on the plea that he was the successor of the universal monarch St. Peter.

Upon this, Tertullian plainly told him, that he was an usurper: stating, at the same time, very distinctly, that, whatever preëminence or privilege Christ might be supposed to have granted to Peter, he granted it to Peter *personally* and not to any line of his pretended successors in the primacy ².

¹ Ἄλλ' οὐ πᾶσι γε τοῖς ἐπισκόποις ταῦτ' ἠρέσκετο ἀντίπαρακελεύονται εἶτα αὐτῷ (scil. Victori) τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον ἐνώσεως καὶ ἀγάπης φρονεῖν. Φέρονται δὲ καὶ αἱ τούτων φωναὶ πληκτικώτερον καθαπτομένων τοῦ Βίκτορος· ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. 24.

² De tua nunc sententia, quæro, unde hoc jus Ecclesiæ usurpes? Si, quia dixerit Petro Dominus; *Super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, tibi dedi claves regni cælestis; vel Quæcumque alligaveritis vel solveritis in terra, erunt alligata vel soluta in cælis*: idcirco præsumis, et ad te derivasse solvendi et alligandi potestatem, id est, ad omnem Ecclesiam Petri propinquam: qualis es, evertens atque commutans manifestam Domini intentionem PERSONALITER hoc Petro conferentem. *Super TE, inquit, ædificabo Ecclesiam meam; et dabo*

(3.) In the third century, Stephen of Rome and Cyprian of Carthage took opposite sides on the question of the rebaptisation of heretics.

For presuming to differ from him on this topic, Stephen had excommunicated the Asiatics. But his arrogance made not the slightest impression upon Cyprian. On the contrary, he summoned a provincial Council of the African Bishops: and these Bishops, with Cyprian at their head, unceremoniously ratified, with a severe allusion to the insolent though utterly disallowed pretensions of Stephen, the doctrine espoused by the Asiatics ¹.

TIBI *claves*: et, *quæcunque* SOLVERIS *vel* ALLIGAVERIS, non quæ SOLVERINT *vel* ALLIGAVERINT. Tertull. de pudic. Oper. p. 767, 768.

At the beginning of the Treatise, Tertullian, in a somewhat sneering manner, propounds those claims of the Roman Bishop which called forth his strenuous indignation.

Audio etiam edictum esse propositum, et quidem peremptorium, Pontifex scilicet Maximus, Episcopus Episcoporum, dicit: *Ego et mæchicæ et fornicationis delicta pœnitentia functis dimitto*. O edictum cui adscribi non poterit bonum factum! Ibid. p. 742.

Perhaps it may be said, that this Treatise was written by Tertullian after he had fallen into the heresy of Montanism.

Doubtless it was: but that is nothing to the purpose; for his heresy respected the alleged character of Montanus, not the question of Roman Primacy by virtue of a pretended succession from Peter.

¹ Superest, ut de hac ipsa re singuli, quid sentiamus, proferamus; neminem judicantes, aut a jure communionis aliquem, si diversum senserit, amoventes. *Neque enim quisquam nostrum Episcopum se Episcoporum constituit; aut, tyrannico terrore, ad obsequendi necessitatem, collegas suos adigit: quando*

(4.) In this same third century, Firmilian of Cappadocia, no less than Cyprian of Carthage, took a zealous part in the baptismal dispute: and, if we may judge from his somewhat uncourtly phraseology, he appears to have venerated the papal supremacy quite as little as Cyprian himself.

Stephen of Rome had idly claimed to be the monarchal successor of St. Peter. But Firmilian absolutely sneers at him for setting up such a ridiculous figment, pronounces him to be a second Judas, and calls him an arrogant and presumptuous and manifest and notorious idiot¹.

habeat omnis Episcopus, pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ, arbitrium proprium; tamque judicari ab alio non possit, quam nec ipse potest judicare. Sed expectemus universi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus et solus habet potestatem, et præponendi nos in Ecclesiæ suæ gubernatione, et de actu nostro judicandi. Concil. Carthag. Sentent. Episcop. LXXXVII. in Oper. Cyprian. vol. i. p. 229, 230.

This decision of the eighty-seven African Bishops exactly expresses Cyprian's own sentiments relative to the Episcopate, as set forth in his Treatise on the Unity of the Church. He considers all the Bishops collectively as forming only one joint governing Episcopate.

Unitatem firmiter tenere et vindicare debemus, maximè Episcopi qui in Ecclesia præsidemus, ut Episcopatum quoque ipsum unum atque indivisum probemus—Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur. Cyprian. de Unit. Eccles. Oper. vol. i. p. 108.

He repeats the same opinion in his Epistle to Antonianus.

Episcopatus unus, Episcoporum multorum concordia numerositate diffusus. Cyprian. Epist. lv. Oper. vol. ii. p. 112.

¹ Sed non si nos propter Stephanum hanc beneficii gratiam

(5.) In the fourth century, Ambrose, if Ambrose were the author of the ancient Work on

cepimus, statim Stephanus beneficio et gratia digna commisit. Neque enim et Judas, perfidia sua et proditione qua sceleratè circa Salvatorem operatus est, dignus videri potest, quasi causam bonorum tantorum ipse præstiterit, ut per illum mundus et gentium populus liberaretur. Sed hæc interim, quæ ab Stephano gesta sunt, prætereantur : ne, dum audaciæ et insolentiæ ejus meminimus, de rebus ab eo improbè gestis longiorem mœstitiam nobis inferamus—Qualis vero error sit, et quanta sit cæcitas ejus, qui remissionem peccatorum dicit apud synagogas hæreticorum dari posse, nec permanet in fundamento unius Ecclesiæ quæ semel a Christo supra petram solidata est. Hinc intelligi potest, quod soli Petro Christus dixerit : *Quæcunque ligaveris super terram, erunt ligata et in cælis : et, quæcunque solveris super terram, erunt soluta et in cælis.* Et iterum in Evangelio, quando in solos Apostolos insufflavit Christus, dicens : *Accipite Spiritum Sanctum ; si cujus remiseritis peccata, remittentur illi ; et, si cujus tenueritis, tenebuntur.* Potestas ergo peccatorum remittendorum Apostolis data est, et Ecclesiis quas illi a Christo missi constituerunt, et Episcopis qui eis ordinatione vicaria successerunt—Atque ego, in hac parte, justè indignor ad hanc tam apertam et manifestam Stephani stultitiam : quod, qui sic de Episcopatûs sui loco gloriatur, et se successionem Petri tenere contendit super quem fundamenta Ecclesiæ collocata sunt, multas alias petras inducat et Ecclesiarum multarum nova ædificia constituat, dum esse illic baptisma sua auctoritate defendit—Stephanus, qui per successionem cathedram Petri habere se prædicat, nullo adversus hæreticos zelo excitatur—Quinimo tu hæreticis omnibus pejores : nam, cum inde multi cognito errore suo ad te veniant, ut Ecclesiæ verum lumen accipiant ; tu venientium errores adjuvas, et, obscurato lumine ecclesiasticæ veritatis, tenebras hæreticæ noctis accumulās—Vide, qua imperitia reprehendere audeas eos, qui contra mendacium pro veritate nitun-

the Sacraments, expresses himself respectfully indeed of the Roman See, but at the same time asserts his own perfect independence.

My wish, says he, is to follow the Church of Rome in all points: but yet we men possess some

tur:—ut de nullo alio, magis quam de te, dicat Scriptura divina; *Homo animosus parit lites, et vir iracundus exaggerat peccata.* Lites enim et dissentiones quantas parâsti per Ecclesias totius mundi? Peccatum vero quam magnum tibi exaggerâsti, quando te a tot gregibus scidisti? *Exscidisti enim teipsum: noli te fallere. Siquidem ille est verè schismaticus, qui se a communione ecclesiasticæ unitatis apostatam fecerit. Dum enim putas omnes a te abstineri posse, solum te ab omnibus abstinuisti.* Firmil. Epist. lxxv. in Oper. Cyprian. vol. ii. p. 218, 224, 225, 227, 228.

It is on the identical principles of Firmilian, that we of the Reformed Churches are wont to consider the Bishop of Rome as *the archschismatic and as the grand ringleader of presumptuous divisions in the Church Catholic.* From those, who, exercising their christian liberty, will not in all things implicitly submit themselves to him and his accomplices, he forthwith separates himself: imperiously denouncing *them* as schismatics, when in truth *he* is the real schismatic. As Firmilian well objects to Stephen: *What a mighty sin hast thou heaped up to thyself, in that thou hast cut thyself off from so many flocks! For do not deceive thyself: it is thou that hast cut off thine own self. He verily is the real schismatic, who has made himself an apostate from the communion of ecclesiastical unity. For, while thou thinkest that all may be separated from thee, thou hast merely separated thyself from all.*

Thus does Firmilian protest against the attempted insolent usurpation of the Roman Bishop even in the third century: and thus do we *still* protest against the same offensive absurdity in the nineteenth century.

*measure of plain common sense. Whatever, therefore, is better preserved elsewhere, we also shall rightly guard and uphold. In truth, we follow the Apostle Peter himself: we adhere to his devotion. What answer can the Roman Church make to this*¹?

(6.) In the same fourth century, Augustine employs language, clearly incompatible with the notion, of a dominant papal Supremacy which would exhibit the Roman Church as the Mother and Mistress of all Churches.

*Understand, says he, by the daughters of kings mentioned in the Psalm, those cities which have believed in Christ and which have had kings for their founders—Behold Rome, behold Carthage, behold other and other cities. They are the daughters of kings; and they have delighted their own king in his honour: but, from them all collectively, there is made up only one queen*².

(7.) Finally, even so late as toward the close of the sixth century, two successive Popes, Pela-

¹ In omnibus cupio sequi Ecclesiam Romanam. Sed tamen et nos homines sensum habemus. Ideo, quod alibi rectius servatur, et nos rectè custodimus. Ipsum sequimur Apostolum Petrum: ipsius inhæremus devotioni. Ad hoc Ecclesia Romana quid respondet? Tractat. de Sacrament. lib. iii. c. 1. in Ambros. Oper. col. 1244, 1245. Paris. 1549.

² Intellige etiam filias regum civitates, quæ crediderunt in Christum et a regibus conditæ sunt—Ecce Roma, ecce Carthago, ecce aliæ et aliæ civitates, filiæ regum sunt: et delectaverunt regem suum in honore ipsius; et, ex omnibus, fit una quædam regina. August. Enarrat. in Psalm xlv. Oper. vol. viii. p. 149.

gius II and Gregory I, both on behalf of themselves and on behalf of their predecessors, expressly disclaimed that supreme monarchical domination, which they rightly judged to be alike inconsistent with christian humility and with the mutually equal jurisdiction of the other Patriarchs.

The circumstance, which led to this formal disavowal, was the assumption of the title of *Universal Bishop* on the part of John of Constantinople: for such an assumption they deemed equivalent to a profane and impious claim of monarchical domination and supremacy over the whole Church Catholic.

Regard not the name of Universality, which John, says Pelagius, has unlawfully usurped to himself:—for let no one of the Patriarchs ever use this so profane appellation—You may well estimate what mischief may be expected rapidly to follow, when, even among priests, such perverted beginnings break forth. For he is near, respecting whom it is written: He himself is king over all the sons of pride¹.

My fellow-priest John, says Gregory the imme-

¹ *Universalitatis* nomen, quod sibi illicitè usurpavit, nolite attendere:—nullus enim Patriarcharum hoc tam profano vocabulo unquam utatur—Perpenditis, fratres carissimi, quid e vicino subsequatur, cum et in sacerdotibus erumpunt tam per-versa primordia. Quia enim juxta est ille, de quo scriptum est: *Ipse est rex super universos filios superbiæ.* Pap. Pelag. II. Epist. viii.

diat successor of Pelagius in the Papacy, *attempts to be called the Universal Bishop. I am compelled to exclaim: O times! O manners! Priests seek to themselves names of vanity; and glory in new and profane appellations. Do I, in this matter, defend only my own proper cause? Do I vindicate an injury specially offered to myself? Do I not rather take up, the cause of God Omnipotent, and the cause of the Church Universal?—Far from the very hearts of Christians be that name of blasphemy, in which the honour of all Priests is taken away, while it is madly arrogated to himself by a single individual*¹!

No one of my predecessors, says the same Pope Gregory, ever consented to use this so profane appellation: for, if a single Patriarch be styled Universal, the name of Patriarch is derogated from the others. But far, very far, be it from a christian mind, that any person should wish to snatch to himself a title, whence he may seem, even in any the

¹ *Consacerdos meus Joannes vocari Universalis Episcopus conatur. Exclamare compellor ac dicere: O tempora! O mores! Sacerdotes vanitatis sibi nomina expetunt, et novis ac profanis vocabulis gloriantur. Nunquid ego, hac in re, propriam causam defendo? Nunquid specialem injuriam vindico; et non magis causam Omnipotentis Dei, et causam Universalis Ecclesiæ?—Sed absit a cordibus Christianorum nomen illud blasphemix, in quo omnium sacerdotum honor adimitur, dum ab uno sibi dementer arrogatur. Pap. Gregor. I. Epist. lib. iv. epist. 32.*

*very smallest degree, to diminish the honour of his brethren*¹!

*What, exclaims the same Gregory to his presumptuous brother of Constantinople: What wilt thou say to Christ, the true head of the Universal Church, in the examination of the last judgment: thou, who attemptest to subjugate all his members to thyself by the appellation of Universal? In the use of so perverted a title, who, I ask, is proposed for thy imitation, save he, who, despising the legions of angels constituted in a social equality with himself, endeavoured to break forth to the summit of an unapproached singularity?—To consent to the adoption of that wicked appellation is nothing less, than to apostatise from the faith*².

I indeed, the same Gregory is still the speaker:

¹ Nullus unquam decessorum meorum hoc tam profano vocabulo uti consensit: quia videlicet, si unus Patriarcha *Universalis* dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur. Sed absit, hoc absit, a christiana mente, id sibi velle quenquam arripere, unde fratrum suorum honorem imminuere ex quantalacunque parte videatur! Pap. Gregor. I. Epist. lib. iv. epist. 36.

² Tu quid Christo, Universalis scilicet Ecclesiæ capiti in extremi judicii es dicturus examine, qui cuncta ejus membra tibi met conaris *Universalis* appellatione supponere? Quis, rogo, in hoc tam perverso vocabulo, nisi ille ad imitandum proponitur, qui despectis angelorum legionibus secum socialiter constitutis, ad culmen conatus est singularitatis erumpere?—In isto tam scelesto vocabulo consentire, nihil est aliud quam fidem perdere. Pap. Gregor. I. Epist. lib. iv. epist. 38.

*I indeed confidently assert, that, whosoever either calls himself or desires to be called Universal Priest; that person, in his vain elation, is the precursor of Antichrist: because, through his pride, he exalts himself above the others*¹.

3. These two respectable Pontiffs, we may observe, censure the claim of universal dominant Supremacy, on the ground, among other matters, of its encroaching upon the mutually independent jurisdiction of the coëqual Patriarchs, and of its thus violating the canons of the Fathers.

(1.) The position, which they take, is strictly correct. Hitherto, we have noticed only the language and conduct of individuals, or at the most the language and conduct of the provincial Synod of Carthage. But now, under the happy auspices of Pope Pelagius and Pope Gregory, let us proceed to notice the express decisions of Ecumenical Councils; Councils, which by the Latins are deemed to be absolutely infallible. The phantom of that universal dominant Supremacy, which the Roman Bishops now claim as their especial prerogative, is effectually dissipated by those ancient Councils, to which Pelagius and Gregory evidently refer²: for, while they define the mutual inde-

¹ Ego vero fidenter dico, quia quisquis se *Universalem Sacerdotem* vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit; quia, superbiendo, cæteris præponit. Pap. Gregor. I. Epist. lib. vi. epist. 30.

² Frater et Coëpiscopus noster Joannes, mandata dominica,

pendence and proper cœquality of the great ecclesiastical Patriarchs, they give to the Occidental Patriarch nothing more than a barren precedence of honour; and even this barren precedence of honour they give to him, not on the idle plea of his being the divinely appointed successor of St. Peter, but simply because the seat of his Episcopate was the original capital of the secular Roman Empire.

Let those ancient customs be confirmed, says the Council of Nice rated as the first Ecumenical Council, which have prevailed in Egypt and Libya and Pentapolis: that the Bishop in Alexandria shall possess jurisdiction over all those districts; since this same privilege is customary also to the Bishop in Rome. In like manner, with respect to Antioch and throughout the other Eparchies, let their privileges be severally preserved to the Churches ¹.

apostolica præcepta, *regulus patrum*, despiciens, eum (scil. Antichristum) per elationem præcurrere conatur in nomine.

¹ Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατέϊτω, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὡσπερ τὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν· ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο συνηθές ἐστι· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ, κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις, τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις· Concil. Nic. I. can. vi. in Bever. Synod. vol. i. p. 66.

On this canon, Aristenus remarks: Αἰγύπτου καὶ Λιβύης καὶ Πενταπόλεως ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἔχτω τὴν ἐξουσίαν· καὶ ὁ Ῥώμης, τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥώμην· καὶ ὁ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ, τῶν οἰκείων—“Ἐκαστος τῶν πατριαρχῶν τοῖς ἰδίῳις προνομίῳις ἀρκεῖσθαι ὀφείλει, καὶ μὴ τινα τούτων ἐπαρχίαν ἑτέραν, οὐκ οὔσαν ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ

Let the Bishop of Constantinople, says the Council of Constantinople rated as the second Ecumenical Council, possess a privilege of honourable

ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ χεῖρα, ὑφαρπάζειν· τοῦτο γὰρ τύφος ἐστὶ τῆς κοσμικῆς ἐξουσίας. Aristen. Ibid. p. 67.

Yet Bellarmine has actually the assurance to propound the following gloss as its true exposition.

Quarta igitur et vera expositio est, Alexandrinum debere gubernare illas provincias, quia Romanus Episcopus ita consuevit: id est, quia Romanus Episcopus, ante omnem Conciliorum definitionem, consuevit permittere Episcopo Alexandrino regimen Ægypti, Libyæ, et Pentapolis. Bellarm. de Pont. Rom. lib. ii. c. 13.

The ingenious Cardinal's *id est* certainly introduces one of the most brilliant specimens extant of the *quidlibet ex quolibet*.

I need not, I presume, at this time of day, discuss the spurious canons of the Council of Nice: for every decent Romanist is now ashamed of them. Yet the time was, when, from one of these forgeries, it was gravely attempted to establish the fact of the early ruled Supremacy of the Roman Patriarch. I subjoin the pretended canon as a theological curiosity.

Sicque præest Patriarcha iis omnibus, qui sub ejus potestate sunt: sicut ille, qui tenet sedem Romæ, caput est et princeps omnium Patriarcharum.

On the authority of Theodoret, Gelasius of Cyzicus, and Nicephorus, it is quite certain, that the genuine canons of the first Nicene Council amounted only to twenty. By the addition of the spurious canons, these genuine twenty, like Falstaff's men of buckram, suddenly expanded into seventy: and, as the tale proceeded under the diligent hands of Pisanus and Turrianus, these seventy soon became eighty. Thus did the first Nicene Council satisfactorily establish the primitive acknowledgement of the dominant Supremacy of the Roman Pontiff.

precedency immediately after the Bishop of Rome : because Constantinople is new Rome ¹.

¹ Τὸν μέντοι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ῥώμην. Concil. Constant. can. iii. in Bever. Synod. p. 89.

On this canon, the following are the comments of Balsamon and Aristenus.

Τοῦ δὲ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου μεταγαγόντος ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ σκῆπτρα τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Ῥωμαίων, μετωνομάσθη Κωνσταντινούπολις καὶ νέα Ῥώμη καὶ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων βασιλεῖς—Κάντεῦθεν καὶ οἱ τῆς δευτέρας συνόδου ἅγιοι πατέρες διωρίσαντο ἔχειν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον αὐτῆς τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ῥώμην. Balsam. Comment. Ibid. p. 89.

Ὁ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως μετὰ τὸν Ῥώμης τετίμηται. Τῶν αὐτῶν πρεσβεῖων καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μεθέξει τιμῆς τῷ Ῥώμης ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ ὁ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος· καθὼς καὶ ὁ εικοστὸς ὄγδος κανὼν τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνόδου τὸν κανόνα τοῦτον ἐνόησε, διὰ τὸ εἶναι ταύτην νέαν Ῥώμην, καὶ τιμηθῆναι βασιλείᾳ τε καὶ συγκλήτῳ· τὸ γὰρ, Μετὰ, ἐνταῦθα, οὐ τῆς τιμῆς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ χρόνου, ἐστὶ δηλωτικόν· ὡς ἂν εἶποι τις, ὅτι, μετὰ πολλοὺς χρόνους, τῆς ἴσης τιμῆς τῷ Ῥώμης μετέσχε καὶ ὁ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Arist. Comment. Ibid. p. 90.

It will be seen, that, in my translation of the canon, I have liberally and gratuitously favoured the Roman Bishop, where I was in no wise *bound* to pay him that compliment. I have rendered the preposition *μετὰ* *immediately after* : and I have so constructed my version as to make it intimate, that a precedency of honour was granted by the Council to the Roman Patriarch *above* the Constantinopolitan Patriarch. But Aristenus gives an entirely different turn to the clause. According to *his* explanation, the preposition *μετὰ* refers, not to *precedency even of mere barren honour*, but simply to *chronological succession* : and thus he would make the true import of the clause

It hath seemed good to the holy and general Synod, says the Council of Ephesus rated as the third Ecumenical Council, that to each Eparchy should be preserved, pure and inviolate, the just privileges of old appertaining to it, according to the anciently prevalent custom: every Metropolitan being equally secured in the due discharge of his own proper functions ¹.

Following in all things the decrees of the holy Fathers, says the Council of Chalcedon rated as the fourth Ecumenical Council, and recognising the lately read Canon of the one hundred and fifty most pious Bishops, we also define and decree the same matters respecting the privileges of the most

to be; that, Rome being the older capital than Constantinople, the Bishop of Constantinople, after (μετὰ) a considerable lapse of time, became a partaker of ΕQUAL (ἴσης) honour with the Bishop of Rome. I am content, however to let the Pope and his admirers have the full benefit of my own designedly liberal translation. They have my free permission to understand μετὰ of honour and not of time.

¹ "Ἐδοξε τοίνυν τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ οἰκουμενικῇ συνόδῳ, σώζεσθαι ἐκάστη ἐπαρχία καθαρὰ καὶ ἀβίαστα τὰ αὐτῇ προσόντα δίκαια ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄνωθεν, κατὰ τὸ πάλαι κρατῆσαν ἔθος· ἄδειαν ἔχοντος ἐκάστου μητροπολίτου τὰ ἴσα τῶν πεπραγμένων πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀσφαλὲς ἐκλαβεῖν. Concil. Ephes. can. viii. in Bever. Synod. vol. i. p. 104.

This canon was *especially* made on account of the attempt of the Patriarch of Antioch to invade the exempt jurisdiction of the Cyprian Church. It is adduced for the purpose of shewing, both how well defined the prerogatives of the great Patriarchs were, and how jealously any intrusion into a province which severally belonged not to them was guarded against.

*holy Church of Constantinople which is new Rome. For to the throne of old Rome, on account of that city being the imperial city, the Fathers rightly granted privileges : and the hundred and fifty most pious Bishops, moved by the same purpose, granted equal privileges to the most holy throne of new Rome ; rightly judging, that the city, honoured with the imperial sovereignty and the senate, and enjoying equal secular privileges with the older imperial Rome, should be magnified also like it in ecclesiastical matters, being in rank the second city after it*¹.

¹ Πανταχοῦ τοῖς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ὄροις ἐπόμενοι, καὶ τὸν ἄρτίως ἀναγνωσθέντα κανόνα τῶν ἑκατὸν πενήτηκοντα θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων γνωρίζοντες, τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὀρίζομέν τε καὶ ψηφίζόμεθα περὶ τῶν πρεσβείων τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως νέας Ῥώμης. Καὶ γὰρ τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασιν τὰ πρεσβεῖα. Καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ σκοπῷ κινούμενοι, οἱ ἑκατὸν πενήτηκοντα θεοφιλέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα ἀπενεῖμαν τῷ τῆς νέας Ῥώμης ἁγιωτάτῳ θρόνῳ· εὐλόγως κρίναντες, τὴν βασιλεία καὶ συγκλήτῳ τιμηθεῖσαν πόλιν, καὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαύουσαν πρεσβείων τῇ πρεσβυτέρῳ βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ὡς ἐκείνην μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι, δευτέραν μετ' ἐκείνην ὑπάρχουσαν. Concil. Chalced. can. xxviii. in Bever. Synod. vol. i. p. 145.

I have here again favoured the Roman Bishop by understanding the preposition μετὰ of *honour* and not of *time*, though I might have followed those who judge otherwise. Nevertheless, as I have no wish to claim any exaggerated praise for my indulgence, I will fairly confess, in despite of Aristenus, that I believe my own interpretation, as it stands in the text, to be the right one. In good sooth, if the truth *must* come out, Aristenus is completely laid prostrate, while my own favourable

Thus we see, that, whatever either of patriarchal prerogative or of honorific precedency was enjoyed

interpretation is no less completely established, by the Fathers of the sixth Ecumenical Council in Trullo. These congregated Prelates determine, that the throne of Constantinople should enjoy equal privileges and prerogatives with the throne of Rome: but that, in respect to the grave point of honorific precedency, Rome should walk first, then Constantinople, then Alexandria, then Antioch, and then (such is the caducity of all ceremonial dignities) Jerusalem the Mother of all Churches. Concil. in Trull. can. xxxvi. in Bever. Synod. vol. i. p. 198. In his comment on this canon, however, good Aristenus stiffly contends for a perfect equality of jurisdiction on the part of Rome and Constantinople: a matter, grievously fatal to the papal claims of an universal dominant supremacy. I may add also, though I speak against the Pope and myself, that Aristenus, like a sturdy canonist as he is, will not abate one iota of his interpretation of the *μετά*.

Τὸ τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαύειν πρεσβείων μετὰ τὸν Ῥώμης, οὕτως ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ κανόνι τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει συνόδου ἠρμηνεύσαμεν, καὶ ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ ὀγδόῳ τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνόδου· ὥστε μὴ κατὰ τὴν τιμὴν δεύτερον τοῦ Ῥώμης τάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους. Οὕτω γοῦν καὶ ἐνταῦθα δεῖ νοεῖν, τὴν μετὰ πρόθεσιν τοῦ χρόνου εἶναι δηλωτικὴν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς τιμῆς. Μετὰ γὰρ χρόνους πολλοὺς, τῶν ἴσων πρεσβείων τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ὁ θρόνος οὗτος τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἔτυχε· διὰ τὸ, βασιλεία τε καὶ συγκλήτῳ τιμηθῆναι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην, καὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαύειν πρεσβείων τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ Ῥώμῃ. Arist. Comment. in can. xxxvi. Concil. in Trull. apud Bever. Synod. vol. i. p. 199.

This interesting dispute, respecting the true import of the *μετά*, furnishes a beautiful exemplification of the unspeakable benefit of infallibility, as possessed and exercised, for the benefit of the hesitating Church, by three acknowledged Ecumenical Councils.

by the Bishop of Rome, he received it, not from any divine right but simply from the grants of mere men, not as the successor of St. Peter in a fabled ecclesiastical monarchy but simply as the Prelate of a city which was the ancient capital of the Empire ¹.

Nor is even this degrading view the whole view of the question. The Ecumenical, and therefore (according to the modern Latins) the infallible, Council of Chalcedon recognises, in explicit terms, the right of the Emperor to erect Metropolitan Sees by virtue of his imperial letters patent: so that, although the general spiritual authority of a Bishop in the Christian Church at large be derived neither from Princes nor from Councils, those privileges of a Patriarch or a Metropolitan, by which he exercises a geographically defined territorial authority over suffragan diocesan Bishops, might be conferred, not only through the sanction of an Ecumenical Synod, but even by the direct mandate of a laic Emperor ².

¹ The simple truth of the matter was, that the spiritual territorial arrangement of the Church was, for the sake of convenience, made to correspond with the secular territorial arrangement of the Empire. This circumstance is so notorious, that I may well save myself the trouble of dwelling upon it at large.

² "Ὅσαι δὲ ἤδη πόλεις διὰ γραμμάτων βασιλικῶν τῷ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐτιμήθησαν ὀνόματι, μόνης ἀπολανέτωσαν τῆς τιμῆς. Concil. Chalced. can. xii. in Bever. Synod. vol. i. p. 126.

On this, Balsemon remarks: Τὰ βασιλικά προστάγματα πραγματικοὶ τύποι λέγονται. Balsam. Comment. Ibid. p. 126.

(2.) For the purpose of establishing the Roman Patriarch's dominant supremacy over all the other Patriarchs no less than his mere honorific precedence before them, some of the more zealous Papalists have alleged, that an authoritative confirmation by the Pope was necessary to the canonical institution of each newly elected Patriarch.

Such an allegation shews only the truth of the adage, that a drowning man will catch at a straw. So completely is it founded upon a gross suppression and misrepresentation of facts, that it has actually been exposed by an honourable individual even among the Romanists themselves. When Baronius, through the allegation now before us, attempted to salve the tottering supremacy of his Pontiff, Peter de Marca, Archbishop of Paris, preferring christian honesty to sacerdotal management, at once demolished his idle plea by the very simple process of exhibiting the truth and the *whole* truth. *Each* Patriarch, when elected, the Roman Patriarch *himself* just as much as *any other* Patriarch, communicated by letter his election to all his patriarchal fellows, subjoining his

These Pragmatical Types were sometimes procured by ambitious Prelates, who were desirous of raising their Bishoprics into Metropolitanships. The Council condemns the practice : but denies not, that the already existing Metropolitanships had been rightfully established by these imperial mandates. Τὰς μέντοι, πρὸ τοῦ παρόντος κανόνος, τιμηθείσας ἐκκλησίας ἀπὸ ἐπισκόπων εἰς μητροπόλεις κατὰ πρόσταξιν βασιλικὴν, διορίζεται ἔχειν μόνην τὴν τιμὴν. Balsam. Ibid. p. 126, 127.

profession of the common faith, and requesting to be admitted by them into full communion. This, *in every case alike*, was the regular proceeding. The Patriarch elect of Constantinople or Antioch or Alexandria did, indeed, write letters communicatory to the Patriarch of Rome, according to the tenor and purport which have been stated: but then the Patriarch of Rome elect *equally* wrote *exactly similar* letters to the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch and Alexandria¹. Hence, on the part of the Pope, as de Marca well observes, his confirmation of the eastern Patriarchs was no sign of dominant jurisdiction, but only a testimonial that he received them into communion and assented to their consecration².

The strict accuracy of that highly respectable Prelate Peter de Marca is fully established by the unexceptionable testimony of Cyprian, who flourished about the middle of the third century. He states, that, not merely the greater Patriarchs, but even the whole College of Bishops, confirmed,

¹ Quippe usu receptum erat per illas tempestates, ut Patriarchæ, et ipse etiam Romanus Pontifex recens electus, literas de sua ordinatione mitterent; quibus addebatur professio fidei, in synodicis eorum epistolis conscripta. Petr. de Marc. de Concord. Sacerdot. et Imper. lib. vi. c. 5. § 2.

² Quod ad Patriarchas attinet, responderi potest: Confirmationem illam non esse signum jurisdictionis, sed tantum susceptionis in communionem, et testimonium quo constabat, summum Pontificem consentire consecrationi jam peractæ. Petr. de Marc. de Conc. Sacerd. et Imp. lib. vi. c. 5. § 2.

by their expressed assent, the election of Cornelius to the Bishopric of Rome : and he adds, that letters testimonial, respecting the ordination of Cornelius, were sent from Rome to himself and to the other African Bishops ; who, upon the receipt of them, by their unanimous assent confirmed his appointment ¹.

Thus, we see, in the third century, the confirmation of the Roman Bishop by the other Bishops his equals was no less requisite, for the purpose of preserving ecclesiastical unity, than the confirmation of other Bishops by the Roman Bishop. It was a confirmation strictly *mutual* and *reciprocal*: whence, of course, it could, on *neither* side, import any right of dominant jurisdiction. Accordingly, when Pope Leo I, in the fifth century, confirmed the election of Anatolius, he expressly stated, that he did it to preserve throughout the whole world the integrity of one communion ².

¹ Venio jam nunc, frater carissime, ad personam Cornelii collegæ nostri : ut Cornelium nobiscum verius noveris, non de malignorum et detrahentium mendacio, sed de Domini Dei judicio qui Episcopum fecit, et Coëpiscoporum testimonio quorum numerus universus per totum mundum concordî unanimitate consensit—Et factus est Episcopus a plurimis collegis nostris, qui tunc in urbe Roma aderant : qui ad nos literas honorificas et laudabiles et testimonio suæ prædicationis illustres de ejus ordinatione miserunt—Quo (loco) occupato de Dei voluntate, atque omnium nostrûm consentione firmato : quisquis jam Episcopus fieri voluerit, foris fiat necesse est. Cyprian. Epist. lv. Oper. vol. ii. p. 104, 105.

² Ut per totum mundum una nobis sit unius communionis

But even this is not the whole. At the close of the fourth century and at the beginning of the fifth, three successive Popes, Damasus and Siricius and Anastasius, refused to confirm Flavian, the Patriarch of Antioch. Their refusal, however, was determined to be no impediment to his exercise of the just functions of his Patriarchate: for, since all the Oriental and Asiatic and Pontic and Thracian and Illyrican Churches had confirmed him and were in communion with him; it was very reasonably held, that the mere solitary additional confirmation of the Roman Patriarch and his Occidental Suffragans could not, in any wise, be deemed necessary and essential. If that Patriarch were determined peevishly to stand out against the whole Christian World, the whole Christian World was not to be paralysed out of compliment to *his* unreasonable obstinacy ¹.

III. With such testimonies before us, we can only smile at the unerring decision of the infallible Council of Trent, gravely reëchoed by the Bull of Pope Pius IV: that *The holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church is the Mother and Mistress of all Churches.*

integritas; in qua societatem tuæ dilectionis amplectimur, et gestorum quæ sumpsimus seriem, necessariis munitam subscriptionibus, approbamus. Pap. Leon. I. Epist. xxxviii.

¹ Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 23.

CHAPTER IV.

TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

UNLIKE many of the peculiarities of the Roman Church, such as Purgatory, Saint-worship, Image-worship, and the like, the doctrine of Transubstantiation professes to rest upon the solid foundation of Scripture itself. But, when we come to examine the real state of the matter, that doctrine will be found to rest, not so much upon Scripture itself, as upon the latin interpretation of Scripture.

In regard to the bare *words* of Scripture, there is no dispute between the Catholic of the Roman Church and the Catholic of the Anglican Church. The dispute respects, not the *occurrence* of the words, but their *import*. That our Lord *said* of the bread and wine, *This is my body* and *This is my blood*, all are agreed: what he *meant* by such expressions, is a question still litigated. The Romanist contends, that the expressions ought to be understood *literally*: the Anglican contends, that they ought to be understood *figuratively*. Hence,

when the Romanist would prove the doctrine of Transubstantiation from Scripture, the Anglican denies the validity of his proof: for he alleges, that the pretended proof rests, not upon Scripture itself, but only upon a gratuitous and unacknowledged interpretation of Scripture.

On this principle, the Anglican maintains, that the Romanist's asserted proof from Scripture is nothing better than *a palpable begging of the question*: and he urges, apparently not without reason, that the Romanist ought to demonstrate the *truth* of his own particular interpretation, ere he can be allowed to adduce it controversially in the way of *evidence*. In the abstract, the words, *This is my body* and *This is my blood*, may doubtless be understood *literally*: for there is nothing, either in their conventionally inherent sense or in their just grammatical construction, which precludes the possibility of such an acceptation. But the same words may doubtless be also understood *figuratively*: for the whole analogy of scriptural language, so far from contradicting, is in truth favourable to such an exposition ¹.

¹ Solet autem res, quæ significat, ejus rei nomine quam significat nuncupari: sicut scriptum est; *Septem spicæ septem anni sunt*: non enim dixit, *septem annos significant*. Et *septem boves septem anni sunt*: et multa hujusmodi. Hinc est, quod dictum est: *Petra erat Christus*. Non enim dixit, *petra significat Christum*: sed tanquam hoc esset, quod utique per substantiam non hoc erat, sed per significationem. August. Quæst. lib. iii. super Levit. quæst. 57. Oper. vol. iv. p. 85.

Now, even putting other testimony aside, the Anglican thinks, that Scripture alone, when Scripture is compared with Scripture, most abundantly decides the question in *his* favour: while, on the part of his adversary, the place of legitimate comparative argument is supplied by nothing more convincing, than a positive and reiterated assertion of the exclusive and necessary propriety of the *literal* interpretation¹. But the Romanist, though he produces no argument from Scripture itself to establish the truth of his exposition, denies the validity and conclusiveness of the scriptural proofs alleged by the Anglican: while he contends, that the gloss of the Anglican is a mere gratuitous innovation upon the ancient and universally received interpretation of our Lord's now litigated phraseology.

Under these circumstances, the dispute, if it be confined to Scripture, must plainly be interminable: for the dispute respects the true interpretation of Scripture; and, as neither party will admit the propriety of the other party's interpretation, so the Anglican is not more disposed to yield to the unmixed dogmatism of the Romanist, than the Romanist is disposed to bow before the scriptural arguments of the Anglican.

To settle the dispute, therefore, we must seek evidence extrinsic from Scripture: and, since the Romanist, for *his* interpretation, claims the sanc-

¹ See above, book i. chap. 4. § III. 1. (1.) (2.)

tion of Antiquity; he himself points out the precise quarter where we are to look for testimony.

Simply, then, as a point of FACT, I venture to assert, that, *so far from Antiquity being friendly to the scheme of literal interpretation, it is decidedly hostile*: for, under almost every possible mode and form, it rejects the *literal* exposition of our Lord's words in favour of their *figurative* exposition.

For the due establishment of this assertion, it is now my business to cite evidence.

I. I shall begin with producing statements, which, by necessary result and implication, demonstrate, that the ancients must have understood our Lord's phraseology not *literally* but *figuratively*.

1. Let us first hear the venerable Irenæus, while, in a fragment happily preserved by Eusebius, he propounds the language employed by the martyr Blandina during the persecution which occurred at Lyons in the year 177.

The Greeks, having apprehended the slaves of those who were questioned, attempted to learn from them, through the medium of torture, some secret respecting the Christians. Whereupon, not having any thing to speak satisfactory to their torturers, those slaves, inasmuch as they had heard from their masters that the divine communion was the blood and body of Christ, fancying that it was really blood and flesh, gave this account to the examiners. But they, forthwith taking it for granted that this was done in the secret ceremonial of the Christians,

communicated the information to the other Greeks : and they then proceeded, through tortures, to attempt to wring a confession from the martyrs Sanctus and Blandina. To them, however, Blandina boldly and aptly replied: How can those persons endure to perpetrate such deeds, who, through ascetic severity, indulge not even in permitted flesh¹ ?

¹ Καὶ εἴτις βούλεται τοῦτο μαθεῖν, ἐκ τῶν Εἰρηναίῳ τῷ Λουγδούνου τῆς Κελτικῆς ἐπισκόπου, περὶ Σάγκτου καὶ Βλανδίνης τῶν μαρτύρων, γραφέντων, μάθοι ἂν ἀκριβῶς. Ὡς δὲ διὰ βραχέων παραθέσθαι, ἔστι ταῦτα.

Χριστιανῶν γὰρ κατηχουμένων δούλους "Ἕλληνες συλλαβόντες, εἶτα μαθεῖν τί παρὰ τούτων δῆθεν ἀπόρρητον περὶ Χριστιανῶν ἀναγκάζοντες" οἱ δοῦλοι οὗτοι, μὴ ἔχοντες πῶς τὸ τοῖς ἀναγκάζουσι καθ' ἡδονὴν ἐρεῖν, παρόσον ἤκουον τῶν δεσποτῶν, τὴν θείαν μετάληψιν αἷμα καὶ σῶμα εἶναι Χριστοῦ, αὐτοὶ νομίσαντες τῷ ὄντι αἷμα καὶ σάρκα εἶναι, τοῦτο ἐξεῖπον τοῖς ἐκζητοῦσι. Οἱ δὲ λαβόντες ὡς αὐτόχημα τοῦτο τελεῖσθαι Χριστιανοῖς, καὶ δὴ τοῦτο τοῖς ἄλλοις "Ἕλλησι ἐξεπόμπευον. Καὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας Σάγκτον καὶ Βλανδίνην ὁμολογῆσαι διὰ βασάνων ἠνάγκαζον. Οἷς εὐστόχος Βλανδίνῃ ἐπαρρησιάσατο, Πῶς ἂν, εἰπούσα, τούτων ἀνάσχοιτο, οἱ μὴ δὲ τῶν ἐφειμένων κρεῶν δι' ἄσκησιν ἀπολαύοντες; (Æcum. Comment. in 1 Petr. iii. 12. Comment. vol. ii. p. 498. Paris. 1631.

The Bishop of Strasbourg has honoured me, by criticising, after a manner peculiarly his own, my translation of this passage.

I. I had rendered the word ἐπαρρησιάσατο, *boldly replied* : certainly conceiving, that I had committed no very deadly sin against greek philology.

Whereupon, the Bishop, not (as an ordinary critic would have done) turning to *the greek original*, but on the contrary resorting rather to *the latin version*; there discovers the word *scitè*.

Upon this, exulting in the success of his examination, he

The apt answer of Blandina, though thrown into the form of a retortive question, is implicatively a palpable denial, that Christians, in the celebration of the Eucharist, substantially eat the flesh and drank the blood of their divine Master. But, assuredly, no such denial could have been made with truth, if the primitive Christians had held the tridentine doctrine : that *The whole substance of the bread is converted into the substance of the body of Christ, and the whole substance of the wine into the substance of the blood of Christ.* Therefore, either the holy martyr Blandina died

forthwith triumphantly calls upon his laic friend, to ask me what *scitè* means ; and strenuously exhorts him, even to *press me to give its true sense* : furthermore remarking, with equal truth and sagacity, that *boldly* is NOT the meaning of *scitè* ; however, for the gaining of my own private ends, *I* may be disposed to ascribe to it such a meaning.

Thus runs the criticism of Dr. Trevern. Unluckily, he did not chance to discover, that my english word *boldly* was brought, neither out of the latin *scitè* nor yet out of the corresponding Greek *εὐστόχως*, but out of the familiar complex import of the verb *ἐπαρρησιάζομαι*.

Had Dr. Trevern, instead of running to the latin version, *first* consulted the greek original, and *next* (if labouring under any doubt) turned to a dictionary : he would have found, that the verb *παρρησιάζομαι* denotes, in latin *libere dico*, in english *to speak freely or boldly*.

II. In the remarkable word *scitè*, the Bishop detects a plain indication of *the special cleverness of Blandina in repelling the accusation, without revealing the secret of Transubstantiation* : a secret, which, from the present passage, he rapidly learns to have been quite familiar to her.

with a lie in her mouth, or the primitive Christians held not the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

2. Let us next hear the homogeneous reasoning of Tertullian.

We must not call our senses in question, lest we should doubt respecting their fidelity even in the case of Christ himself. For, if we question their fidelity, we might peradventure be led to say: that Christ falsely beheld Satan precipitated from heaven; or falsely heard the voice of his Father testifying of him; or was deceived, when he touched Peter's mother-in-law; or smelt a different odour of the ointment, which he received for his sepulture; or tasted a different flavour of the wine, which he consecrated in memory of his own blood¹.

No person, who believed a doctrine *contradictory* to the animal senses, could *thus*, in respect to the consecrated wine, have argued for the *fidelity* of the animal senses.

3. Let us next hear the statement of Cyprian.

When Christ says; I am the true vine: the blood of Christ is not water, but wine. His blood, by which we are redeemed and vivified, cannot be seen

¹ Non licet nobis in dubium sensus istos revocare, ne et in Christo de fide eorum deliberetur. Ne forte dicatur: quod falso Satanam prospectarit de cœlo præcipitatum; aut falso vocem Patris audierit de ipso testificatam; aut deceptus sit, cum Petri socrum tetigit; aut alium postea unguenti senserit spiritum, quod in sepulturam suam acceptavit; alium postea vini saporem, quod in sanguinis sui memoriam consecravit. Tertull. de anim. Oper. p. 653.

*in the cup, when wine, by which the blood of Christ is shewn, is wanting to the cup: for, by the sacrament and testimony of all the Scriptures, that blood is declared to have been poured forth*¹.

Cyprian joins together, as homogeneous in point of phraseology, Christ's declaration *I am the true vine*, and Christ's expression *This is my blood*. But the declaration is confessedly figurative. Therefore, by the very necessity of his collocative arrangement, Cyprian must have deemed the expression figurative also.

4. Let us next attend to the similar reasoning of Theodoret.

Jacob called the blood of the Saviour the blood of the grape. For, if the Lord be denominated a vine, and if the fruit of the vine be called wine, and if from the side of the Lord fountains of blood and water circulating through the rest of his body passed to the lower parts: well and seasonably did the patriarch say; He washed his garments in wine, and his raiment in the blood of grapes. As we, then, call the mystic fruit of the vine, after its consecration, the blood of the Lord: so Jacob called the blood of the true vine the blood of the grape—Our Saviour, indeed, interchanged the names: for to his

¹ Cum dicat Christus; *Ego sum vitis vera: sanguis Christi non aqua est utique, sed vinum. Nec potest videri sanguis ejus, quo redempti et vivificati sumus, esse in calice, quando vinum desit calici: quo Christi sanguis ostenditur, qui scripturarum omnium sacramento ac testimonio effusus prædicatur. Cyprian. Epist. lxiii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 148.*

body he gave the name of the symbol, while to the symbol he gave the name of his body; and, having thus called himself a vine, he applied the appellation of his blood to the symbol—But the scope of such language is perfectly familiar to those, who have been initiated into the Mysteries. For our Lord required: that they, who partake of the divine Mysteries, should not attend to the nature of the things which they see; but that, in the change of names, they should believe that change which is wrought by grace: inasmuch as he, who called his own natural body wheat and bread and who further bestowed upon himself the appellation of a vine, honoured also the visible symbols with the name of his body and blood; not changing their nature, but adding grace to nature¹.

¹ Αἷμα ἄρα σταφυλῆς τὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος προσηγόρευσεν αἷμα. Εἰ γὰρ ἄμπελος ὁ Δεσπότης ὠνόμασται, ὁ δὲ τῆς ἀμπέλου καρπὸς οἶνος προσαγορεύεται, αἵματος δὲ καὶ ὕδατος ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Δεσπότητος πλευρᾶς κρουνοὶ προσχεθέντες διὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος ἐπὶ τὰ κάτω διήλθον· εἰκότως ἄρα καὶ προσφόρων προεῖπεν ὁ πατριάρχης, Πλυνεῖ ἐν οἴνῳ τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν αἵματι σταφυλῆς τὴν περιβολὴν αὐτοῦ. "Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἡμεῖς τὸν μυστικὸν τῆς ἀμπέλου καρπὸν, μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν, αἷμα δεσποτικὸν ὀνομάζομεν· οὕτω τῆς ἀληθινῆς ἀμπέλου τὸ αἷμα σταφυλῆς ὠνόμασεν αἷμα.—Ὁ δὲ γε Σωτὴρ ὁ ἡμέτερος ἐνήλλαξε τὰ ὀνόματα· καὶ τῷ μὲν σώματι τὸ τοῦ συμβόλου τέθεικεν ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ συμβόλῳ τὸ τοῦ σώματος· οὕτως, ἀμπέλου ἐαυτὸν ὀνόμασας, αἷμα τὸ σύμβολον προσηγόρευσεν—Δῆλος ὁ σκοπὸς τοῖς τὰ θεῖα μεμνημένοις. Ἐβουλήθη γὰρ τοῦς τῶν θείων μυστηρίων μεταλαγχάνοντας, μὴ τῇ φύσει τῶν βλεπομένων προσέχειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐναλλαγῆς, πιστεύειν τῇ ἐκ τῆς χάριτος, γεγεννημένη μεταβολῇ. Ὁ γὰρ δὴ τὸ φύσει σῶμα σῖτον καὶ ἄρτον προσαγορεύσας, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἐαυτὸν

This passage is analogous to the preceding statement of Cyprian : but it surpasses it in strength. Through the mouth of his speaker Orthodoxus, and thus *professedly* exhibiting orthodoxy as orthodoxy stood in the fifth century, Theodoret first teaches us, that the reason, *why* Christ denominated the sacramental wine *his own blood*, was, because he had previously denominated himself *a vine* ; for, if Christ be *figuratively* a vine, homogeneity requires that the juice of the vine should be *figuratively* the blood of Christ : next assures us, that the language, which inculcates the doctrine of only a sacramental or moral change in the consecrated elements, was familiar to all those, who had been initiated into the Mysteries : and lastly declares, even in so many words, that no change, by virtue of consecration, takes place in the nature or in the physical substance of those elements ¹.

ἄμπελον ὀνομάσας, οὗτος τὰ ὀρωμένα σύμβολα τῆ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος προσηγορίῃ τετίμηκεν, οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβάλλων, ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν τῆ φύσει προστεθεικώς. Theodoret. Dial. i. Oper. vol. iv. p. 17, 18. Paris. 1642.

¹ Dr. Trevern, who is apt to resort to confident assertion when argument and evidence fail him, roundly, according to his wont, *denies* the homogeneousness of the two expressions, *I am the vine*, and *This is my blood* : whence he dogmatizes, that, although the former ought to be interpreted *figuratively*, the latter ought doubtless to be interpreted *literally*. Discuss. Amic. vol. i. p. 295.

It is his misfortune, we see, to disagree, both with Cyprian in the third, and with Theodoret in the fifth, century. Ac-

5. Let us next hear the doctrine advocated by Jerome.

All lovers of pleasure, rather than lovers of God, —inasmuch as they are unholy in body and in spirit, neither eat the flesh of Christ, nor drink his blood. Concerning which he himself speaks: Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life. For Christ our Passover has been sacrificed¹.

All outward communicants, whether holy or unholy, eat and drink the material elements of the consecrated bread and wine. Therefore, according to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, holy and unholy *alike* eat and drink the body and blood of Christ. But Jerome declares, that the body and blood of Christ are *not* received by the unholy. Therefore Jerome could not have held the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

6. Let us next hear the parallel statements of Augustine.

Persons of this description must not be said to eat the body of Christ, inasmuch as they are not to be

cording to these ancient ecclesiastics, since Christ is symbolised by a vine, his blood is consistently and analogically symbolised by the juice or allegorical blood of the vine. Truly, they would have been amazed at the theory, which makes the vine *figurative* and the blood *literal*.

² Omnes voluptatis magis amatores, quam amatores Dei— dum non sunt sancti corpore et spiritu, nec comedunt carnem Jesu, nec bibunt sanguinem ejus. De quo ipse loquitur: *Qui comedit carnem meam, et bibit sanguinem meum, habet vitam æternam.* Etenim pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Hieron. Comment. in Esai. lxxvi. 17. Oper. vol. iv. p. 226.

reckoned among the members of Christ—When he said ; Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, he remaineth in me, and I in him : he shewed, what it is to eat the body of Christ and to drink his blood, not merely so far as the sacrament is concerned, but verily and indeed : for this is to remain in Christ, that Christ also should remain in him. For he thus spake it, as if he should say : Whoso remaineth not in me, nor I in him ; let not that person assert or imagine, that he eateth my body or drinketh my blood¹.

To believe in him is to eat the living bread. He, who believeth in him, eateth—We also today receive visible food : but a sacrament is one thing ; and the virtue of a sacrament, another. How many receive from the altar and die : nay die, even by the very act of receiving—The true recipient is, he who eats internally, not he who eats externally : he who eats in his heart, not he who presses with his tooth—He, who remaineth not in Christ and in whom Christ doth not remain, beyond all doubt neither spiritually eats his flesh nor drinks his blood, although carnally

¹ Nec isti ergo dicendi sunt manducare corpus Christi, quoniam nec in membris computandi sunt Christi—Ipsè dicens, *Qui manducat carnem meam et bibit sanguinem meum, in me manet, et ego in eo ; ostendit, quid sit, non sacramento tenus, sed revera, corpus Christi manducare et ejus sanguinem bibere : hoc est enim in Christo manere, ut in illo maneat et Christus. Sic enim hoc dixit, tanquam diceret : Qui non in me manet, et in quo ego non maneo, non se dicat aut existimet manducare corpus meum aut bibere sanguinem meum.* August. de Civ. Dei. lib. xxi. c. 25.

*and visibly he may press with his teeth the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ : but he rather eats and drinks the sacrament of so great a thing to his own condemnation*¹.

The remark on the language of Jerome equally applies to the strictly analogous language of Augustine.

7. Finally, not to weary with a superfluity of evidence, let us hear the still parallel statement of Raban of Mentz even so late as the earlier part of the ninth century.

The Lord willed, that the sacraments of his body and blood should be received by the mouth of the faithful and should be reduced into their aliment : that so, through a visible body, an invisible effect might be shewn—At the Lord's table, the sacrament of this thing is, by some, received to life ; by others, to destruction : but the thing itself is received, by every man to life, by no man to destruction, whosoever shall have been a partaker of it,

¹ Credere enim in eum, hoc est manducare panem vivum. Qui credit in eum, manducat—Nam et nos hodie accipimus visibilem cibum : sed aliud est sacramentum : aliud, virtus sacramenti. Quam multi de altari accipiunt, et moriuntur : et accipiendo moriuntur—Qui manducat intus, non foris ; qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente—Qui non manet in Christo, et in quo non manet Christus, proculdubio nec manducat spiritaliter carnem ejus, nec bibit ejus sanguinem ; licet carnaliter et visibiliter premat dentibus sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi : sed magis tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium sibi manducat et bibit. August. Expos. in Evan. Joan, tract. xxvi. Oper. vol. ix. p. 78, 80, 81.

*that is, whosoever shall have been associated as a member to Christ the head in the kingdom of heaven; for a sacrament is one thing, but the virtue of a sacrament is another thing. The sacrament is received by the mouth: by the virtue of the sacrament the inner man is satiated*¹.

It will readily be perceived, how deeply the good Prelate of Mentz had drunk into the spirit of Augustine. He adopts even his very words. *A sacrament is one thing: the virtue of a sacrament is another thing.*

II. I shall next produce statements, in which the consecrated elements are said to be types or antitypes or figures or symbols or images or representations of the body and blood of Christ; appending to them such remarks as may be appropriate to the subject.

1. The statements on this point are the following.

(1.) Let us first hear the sentiments of Irenæus, the scholar of Polycarp the disciple of St. John.

¹ Maluit Dominus corporis et sanguinis sui sacramenta fidelium ore percipi, et in pastum eorum redigi: ut, per visibile corpus, invisibilis ostenderetur effectus—Hujus rei sacramentum de mensa dominica assumitur, quibusdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad exitium: res vero ipsa, omni homini ad vitam nulli ad exitium, quicumque ejus particeps fuerit, id est, Christo capiti membrum associatus fuerit in regno cœlesti; quia aliud est sacramentum, aliud virtus sacramenti. Sacramentum enim ore percipitur: virtute sacramenti interior homo satiatur. Raban. Maur. de Instit. Cler. lib. i. c. 31.

They, who have followed the last ordinances of the Apostles, know, that the Lord appointed a new oblation in the new Covenant according to the words of Malachi the prophet: Wherefore, from the rising of the sun even to his setting, my name has been glorified among the nations, and in every place incense is offered to my name and a clean sacrifice. As also John says, in the Apocalypse: The incense is the prayers of the saints. Paul likewise exhorts, that we should present our bodies a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God, which is our reasonable service. And again: Let us offer the sacrifice of praise, that is, the fruit of our lips. For these oblations are not according to the Law, whose handwriting the Lord, having blotted out, hath taken away from the midst; but they are according to the spirit: for, in spirit and in truth, we must worship God. Wherefore also the oblation of the Eucharist is not carnal but spiritual, and in that respect pure. For we offer unto God the bread and the cup of blessing, giving thanks unto him, because he has commanded the earth to produce these fruits for our food: and then, having finished the oblation, we invoke the Holy Spirit, that he would exhibit this sacrifice, both the bread as the body of Christ, and the cup as the blood of Christ; in order that they, who partake of these ANTITYPES, may obtain remission of sins and life eternal. Wherefore they, who bring these oblations in remembrance of the Lord, approach not to the dogmas of the Jews: but, litur-

*gising spiritually, they shall be called the sons of wisdom*¹.

In the primitive Church, according to the testimony of Irenæus (which, as here stated, may serve yet additionally to confirm the result of an already conducted discussion²), the as yet unconsecrated bread and wine were first offered up on

¹ Οἱ ταῖς δευτέραις τῶν ἀποστόλων διατάξεσι παρηκολουθηκότες ἴσασι, τὸν Κύριον νέαν προσφορὰν ἐν τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ καθεστηκέναι κατὰ τὸ Μαλαχίου τοῦ προφήτου· Διότι, ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου καὶ ἕως δυσμῶν, τὸ ὄνομά μου δεδύξασται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ θυμίαμα προσάγεται τῷ ὀνόματί μου καὶ θυσία καθαρὰ. "Ὡσπερ καὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει λέγει· Τὰ θυμιάματα εἰσὶν αἱ προσευχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων. Καὶ ὁ Παῦλος παρακαλεῖ ἡμᾶς παραστῆσαι τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν θυσίαν ζῶσαν, ἁγίαν, εὐάρεστον τῷ Θεῷ, τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ἡμῶν. Καὶ πάλιν· Ἀναφέρωμεν θυσίαν αἰνέσεως, τουτέστι, καρπὸν χειλέων. Αὗται μὲν αἱ προσφοραὶ οὐ κατὰ τὸν νόμον εἰσὶ, οὗ τὸ χειρόγραφον ἐξάλειψας ὁ Κύριος ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἤρκεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα, ἐν πνεύματι γὰρ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν τὸν Θεόν. Διότι καὶ ἡ προσφορὰ τῆς εὐχαριστίας οὐκ ἔστι σαρκικὴ ἀλλὰ πνευματικὴ, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ καθαρὰ. Προσφέρομεν γὰρ τῷ Θεῷ τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας, εὐχαριστοῦντες αὐτῷ, ὅτι τῇ γῆ ἐκέλευσε ἐκφύσαι τοὺς καρποὺς τούτους εἰς τροφήν ἡμετέραν· καὶ ἐνταῦθα, τὴν προσφορὰν τελέσαντες, ἐκκαλοῦμεν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, ὅπως ἀποφῆνῃ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην, καὶ τὸν ἄρτον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἵνα οἱ μεταλαμβάνοντες τούτων τῶν ἘΝΤΙΤΥΠΩΝ, τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ τῆς ζωῆς αἰωνίου τύχωσιν. Οἱ οὖν ταύτας τὰς προσφορὰς ἐν τῇ ἀναμνήσει τοῦ Κυρίου ἄγοντες, οὐ τοῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων δόγμασι προσέρχονται· ἀλλὰ, πνευματικῶς λειτουργοῦντες, τῆς σοφίας υἱοὶ κληθῆσονται. Iren. Fragment. in Append. ad Hippol. Oper. vol. ii. p. 64, 65.

² See above, book i. chap. 4. §. iv. 2.

the table as an eucharistic oblation, *antecedently* to the prayer which invoked the Holy Spirit to exhibit them as the body and blood of Christ: for he expressly states, that that prayer was not put up until the oblation was finished. Next, after the oblation had been finished, the elements were consecrated. And then, at length, as Irenèus teaches us, those elements, which had been first eucharistically offered on the table and which had next been consecrated by prayer, became the antitypes or figures of Christ's most precious body and blood.

Now, what Irenèus and the primitive Church meant by *antitypes*, cannot for a moment be doubted: because St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Hebrews (a Work cited by Irenèus in the course of this very passage), has fully and unambiguously settled its import.

*Christ has not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the ANTITYPES of the true holy places; but into heaven itself*¹.

Hence, in the theology of Irenèus and the primitive Church, the bread and wine, when consecrated by prayer, are *antitypes* or *figures* of Christ's body and blood: just as the levitical holy places were *antitypes* or *figures* of the true holy places, even of the sanctuary of God in heaven.

(2.) Let us next attend to the thanksgiving in

¹ Οὐ γὰρ εἰς χειροποίητα ἅγια εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Χριστὸς, ἌΝΤΙΤΥΠΑ τῶν ἀληθινῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν. Heb. ix. 24.

the ancient Clementine Liturgy, which was used by the faithful previous to communicating¹: and, as we have already, in an earlier part of this inquiry, noted, how strictly that Liturgy harmonises with Irenæus in its statement that *The bread and wine are to be viewed as an oblation or eucharistic sacrifice only ANTECEDENTLY to their being consecrated*²; so we shall now find, that SUBSEQUENTLY to their being consecrated, it pronounces them, still in close harmony with Irenæus and employing indeed even verbally the self-same phraseology, to have become *antitypes* or *figures*.

*We moreover give thanks, O Father, for the precious blood of Jesus Christ which on our behalf was poured out, and for his precious body: of which also we celebrate these elements as the ANTITYPES, he himself having commanded us to set forth his death*³.

The doctrine, that *The consecrated elements are ANTITYPES of Christ's body and blood*, was, we see, no way peculiar to Irenæus. On the contrary, it was the solemnly recognised doctrine of the pri-

¹ I gather this from the circumstance, that the thanksgiving next in order is directed to be used *after* communicating; μετὰ τὴν μετάληψιν: language, which imports that its predecessor was to be used *before* communicating.

² See above, book i. chap. 4. § IV. 2. (1.)

³ "Ἐπι εὐχαριστοῦμεν, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τιμίον αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐκχυθέντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, καὶ τοῦ τιμίον σώματος οὗ καὶ ἌΝΤΙΤΥΠΑ ταῦτα ἐπιτελοῦμεν, αὐτοῦ διαταξαμένου ἡμῖν καταγγέλλειν τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον. Clem. Liturg. in Constit. Apost. lib. vii. c. 25.

mitive Church, introduced and interwoven into the forms of the most ancient Liturgy now extant.

(3.) Let us next hear Cyril of Jerusalem, as, in his character of a public Catechist, he still employs the same phraseology for the purpose of explaining to his Catechumens the true character of the consecrated elements.

*While eating, the communicants are commanded to eat, not bread and wine, but the ANTITYPE of the body and blood of Christ*¹.

*With all assurance, let us partake, as it were, of the body and blood of Christ: for, in the TYPE of bread, the body is given to thee; and, in the TYPE of wine, the blood is given to thee: in order that thou mayest partake of the body and blood of Christ, becoming with him joint body and joint blood*².

When Cyril says, that the communicants are commanded to eat, not bread and wine, but the *antitype* of the body and blood of Christ: he clearly means, agreeably to the distinction in his immediately preceding fourth Mystagogical Catechesis, that they are commanded to eat, not *mere* bread and wine, or simple bread and wine to which

¹ Γενόμενοι γὰρ, οὐκ ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου κελεύονται γεύσασθαι, ἀλλὰ ἌΝΤΙΤΥΠΟΥ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. Mystag. v. p. 244.

² Ὡστε, μετὰ πάσης πληροφορίας, ὡς σώματος καὶ αἵματος μεταλαμβάνωμεν Χριστοῦ· ἐν ΤΥΠῳ γὰρ ἄρτου, δίδοταί σοι τὸ σῶμα· καὶ, ἐν ΤΥΠῳ οἴνου, δίδοταί σοι τὸ αἷμα· ἵνα γένη μεταλαμβάνων σώματος καὶ αἵματος Χριστοῦ, σύσσωμος καὶ σύναιμος αὐτοῦ. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. Mystag. iv. p. 237.

no spiritual grace has been superadded by consecration, but *holy* bread and wine by which the body and blood of Christ are now *antitypically* or *figuratively* represented ¹.

(4.) We may next hear exactly the same language from the mouth of Macarius.

In the Church are offered bread and wine, the ANTITYPE of Christ's flesh and blood: and they, who partake of the visible bread, eat the flesh of the Lord spiritually ².

(5.) Let us next hear Gregory of Nazianzum, as he still duly employs the same accredited ecclesiastical phraseology.

Knowing, then, that no person is worthy of the great God and sacrifice and high-priest, who has not first offered himself unto God a living and holy sacrifice, performing a reasonable and acceptable service, and sacrificing unto God the sacrifice of praise and a broken spirit which is the only sacrifice required at our hands by him who gives us all things: how could I dare to offer to him the external sacrifice, the ANTITYPE of the great Mysteries ³ ?

¹ Μη πρόσχε οὖν ὡς ΨΙΛΟΙΣ τῷ ἄρτῳ καὶ τῷ οἴνῳ· σῶμα γὰρ καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ κατὰ τὴν δεσποτικὴν τυγχάνει ἀπόφασιν. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. Mystag. iv. p. 237.

² Ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, προσφέρεται ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος, ἈΝΤΙΤΥΠΟΝ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος· καὶ οἱ μεταλαμβάνοντες ἐκ τοῦ φαινομένου ἄρτου, πνευματικῶς τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Κυρίου ἐσθίουσι. Macar. Ægypt. Homil. xxvii.

³ Ταῦτα οὖν εἰδὼς ἐγὼ, καὶ ὅτι μηδεὶς ἄξιος τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ θύματος καὶ ἀρχιερέως, ὅστις, μὴ πρότερον ἑαυτὸν παρέστησε τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαν ζῶσαν ἁγίαν, μηδὲ τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν

(6.) Let us next attend to the parallel language of Clement of Alexandria.

*The Scripture has named wine a mystic SYMBOL of the holy blood*¹.

(7.) Let us next observe the still parallel phraseology of Tertullian.

*God in your Gospel has so revealed the matter, calling the bread his own body, that you may hence understand how he gave the figure of bread to be the FIGURE of his own body: whose body, conversely, the prophet has figuratively called bread, the Lord himself being afterward about to interpret this sacrament*².

Christ reprobated, neither the water of the Creator with which he washes his people, nor the oil with which he anoints them, nor the fellowship of honey and milk with which he feeds them as infants, nor the bread by which he REPRESENTS his own body:

εὐάρεστον ἐπεδείξατο, μηδὲ ἔθυσσε τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνέσεως καὶ πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον, ἣν μόνην ὁ πάντα δοῦς ἀπαιτεῖ παρ' ἡμῶν θυσίαν· πῶς ἔμελλον θαρρῆσαι προσφέρειν αὐτῷ τὴν ἕξωθεν, τὴν τῶν μεγάλων μυστηρίων ἌNTITYHON; Gregor. Nazianzen. Orat. i. Oper. vol. i. p. 38. Paris. 1630.

¹ Μυστικὸν ἄρα ΣΥΜΒΟΛΟΝ ἡ γραφὴ αἵματος ἁγίου οἴνον ὠνόμασεν. Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. ii. c. 2. Oper. p. 156.

² Sic enim Deus in evangelio quoque vestro revelavit, panem corpus suum appellans: ut et hinc jam eum intelligas corporis sui FIGURAM panis dedisse; cujus retro corpus in panem prophetes figuravit, ipso Domino hoc sacramentum postea interpretaturo. Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. iii. § 12. Oper. p. 209.

for, even in his sacraments, he needs the beggarly elements of the Creator¹.

(8.) We may next listen to Eusebius of Cæsarea.

*Christ himself gave the SYMBOLS of the divine economy to his own disciples; commanding, that the IMAGE of his own body should be made*².

(9.) Let us next hear Ambrose of Milan.

*In the Law was the shadow: in the Gospel is the IMAGE: in heaven is the reality. Formerly, a lamb was offered, a calf was offered: now Christ is offered—Here he is in an IMAGE: there he is in reality*³.

(10.) We may next attend to the great Augustine.

¹ Sed et ille quidem, usque nunc, nec aquam reprobavit Creatoris qua suos abluit, nec oleum quo suos unguat, nec mellis et lactis societatem qua suos infantat, nec panem quo ipsum corpus suum REPRESENTAT; etiam in sacramentis propriis egens mendicitatibus Creatoris. Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. i. § 9. Oper. p. 155.

² Πάλιν γὰρ αὐτὸς τὰ ΣΥΜΒΟΛΑ τῆς ἐνθέου οἰκονομίας τοῖς αὐτοῦ παρεδίδου μαθηταῖς, τὴν ΕΙΚΟΝΑ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος ποιῆσθαι παρακελευόμενος. Euseb. Demons. Evan. lib. viii. c. 2. p. 236. Paris. Stephan. 1544. Immediately afterward he says: "Ἄρτος δὲ χρῆσθαι ΣΥΜΒΟΛΩι τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος παρεδίδου.

³ Umbra in lege: IMAGO in evangelio: veritas in cœlestibus. Ante, agnus offerebatur, offerebatur vitulus: nunc Christus offertur—Hic, in IMAGINE: ibi, in veritate. Ambros. Officior. lib. i. c. 48. Oper. col. 33. Paris, 1549.

*The Lord, when he gave the SIGN of his body, did not doubt to say: This is my body*¹.

*In the history of the New Testament, so great and so marvellous was the patience of our Lord, that, bearing with Judas, though not ignorant of his purpose, he admitted him to the banquet, in which he commended and delivered to his disciples the FIGURE of his own body and blood*².

*These (namely, the water and the blood) are sacraments, in which, not what they are, but what they shew forth, is the point to be always attended to: for they are the SIGNS of things, being one thing, and signifying another thing*³.

(11.) Let us next hear Theodoret.

*The mystic SYMBOLS, after consecration, pass not out of their own proper nature—Place, then, the IMAGE by the side of the archetype; and thou wilt see the SIMILITUDE: for it is meet, that the TYPE should be similar to the reality*⁴.

¹ Non enim Dominus dubitavit dicere; *Hoc est corpus meum*: cum SIGNUM daret corporis sui. August. cont. Adimant. c. xii. Oper. vol. vi. p. 69.

² In historia Novi Testamenti, ipsa Domini nostri tanta et tam miranda patientia, quod eum tamdiu pertulit tanquam bonum, cum ejus cogitationes non ignoraret, cum adhibuit ad convivium, in quo corporis et sanguinis sui FIGURAM discipulis commendavit et tradidit. August. Enar. in Psalm. iii. Oper. vol. viii. p. 7.

³ Hæc enim sacramenta sunt, in quibus, non quid sint, sed quid ostendant, semper attenditur: quoniam SIGNA sunt rerum, aliud existentia, et aliud significantia. August. cont. Maximin. lib. iii. c. 22. Oper. vol. vi. p. 275.

⁴ Ὅνδε γὰρ, μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμόν, τὰ μυστικά ΣΥΜΒΟΛΑ τῆς

(12.) Let us next hear, from the ancient author of the Work on the Sacraments, the very words,

οικείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως—Παράθεε τοίνυν τῷ ἀρχετύπῳ τὴν ΕΙΚΟΝΑ, καὶ ὄψει τὴν ὈΜΟΙΟΤΗΤΑ· χρὴ γὰρ εἰοκέναι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τὸν ΤΥΠΟΝ. Theod. Dial. ii. Oper. p. 85.

I would direct the inquirer's special attention to Theodoret's contradistinction of the *image* from its *archetype*: τῷ ἀρχετύπῳ τὴν εἰκόνα.

When the Tridentine Fathers teach us, that the worship paid to images is to be referred to the prototypes which those images represent: do they mean to intimate, that the images and their prototypes are *distinct*; or do they teach us, that the images and their prototypes are *identical*?

Their words are: Honos, qui eis exhibetur, refertur ad prototypa, quæ illæ repræsentant: ita ut per imagines, quas osculamur et coram quibus caput aperimus et procumbimus, Christum adoremus, et Sanctos, quorum illæ similitudinem gerunt, veneremur. Concil. Trid. sess. xxv. p. 507, 508.

The same doctrine had been previously advanced by the second Nicene Council, act. iii.

That very extraordinary reasoner, Dr. Trevern, unable to rid himself of the stubborn fact, that the ancients invariably style the consecrated elements *symbols* or *images* or *figures* of Christ's body and blood, actually makes an experiment upon the credulity of his English Laic, by attempting to persuade him, that a *symbol* and the *thing symbolised* by it, or an *image* and its *prototype* or *archetype*, may very well be *identical*. Thus the circumstance of the consecrated wine being a *symbol* of Christ's blood is by no means inconsistent with the doctrine, that the *symbolical wine* is *identical* with the *blood which it symbolises*. Some account of this experiment may be seen in Discuss. Amic. Lett. x. vol. ii. p. 60—62. It had already been tried by Bossuet, on the principle of a sophistical tampering with the double sense of the word *sign*. Hist. des Variat. livr. iv. § 11.

which in his days were used in the consecration of the elements.

*Dost thou wish to learn the form of consecration? Hear, then, its very words. The priest says: Cause this our oblation to be reasonable and acceptable; because it is the FIGURE of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ*¹.

(13.) Let us finally hear the judicial decision of Pope Gelasius.

*Assuredly, the IMAGE and SIMILITUDE of the body and blood of Christ are celebrated in the action of the mysteries*².

2. It is obvious, that, when the novel doctrine of a substantial presence of the Lord's physical or material body and blood in the Eucharist began to be adopted and patronised: the primitive ecclesiastical language, which described the consecrated elements as being antitypes or figures or symbols or images or similitudes, would inevitably appear altogether inconsistent with the new and more fashionable system of sacramental theology. For, if, by consecration, the elements literally and

¹ Vis scire quia verbis cœlestibus consecratur? Accipe quæ sunt verba. Dicit sacerdos: *Fac nobis, inquit, hanc oblationem ascriptam, rationabilem, acceptabilem: quod est FIGURA corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi.* Tractat. de Sacram. lib. iv. c. 5. in Ambros. Oper. col. 1248.

² Certe IMAGO et SIMILITUDO corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur. Gelas. de duab. Christ. natur. cont. Nestor. et Eutyech. in Biblioth. Patr. vol. iv. p. 422.

physically and substantially became the material body and blood of Christ; those elements, thus miraculously changed in their nature or substratum, could no longer be truly said to be only an *image* of Christ's body and blood, when they had actually become *Christ's body and blood their own proper and literal selves*: inasmuch as the very name of *image* imports, that the image is one thing, and that the matter represented by the image is another thing.

(1.) Accordingly, in the eighth century, during which, among the oriental divines, the doctrine of the substantial presence was rapidly gaining ground until at length in the year 787 it was formally ratified by the second Nicene Council; we find the ancient phraseology of the Church, which ill suited the favourite novelty, rejected with a high hand and with a most astonishing degree of intrepid effrontery.

John of Damascus is absolutely shocked to the heart by the impious language of those earlier theologians, Irenæus, Cyril, Macarius, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Gregory of Nazianzum, Augustine, Theodoret, and Pope Gelasius.

*The bread and wine are NOT the TYPE of the body and blood of Christ. God forbid! But they are the very deified body itself of the Lord: the Lord himself having said; This is, NOT the TYPE of my blood, but my blood*¹.

¹ ΟΥΚ ἔστι ΤΥΠΟΣ ὁ ἄρτος καὶ ὁ οἶνος τοῦ σώματος καὶ

(2.) Much in the same strain, but with a splendid intrepidity of assertion, proceed the infallible Fathers of the second Nicene Council.

No one, either of those trumpets of the Spirit the holy Apostles, or of our celebrated Fathers, ever called our unbloody sacrifice the IMAGE of his body—For he did not say: Take, eat, the IMAGE of my body—Thus clearly is it demonstrated, that NO WHERE did, either our Lord, or the Apostles, or the Fathers, call the unbloody sacrifice, offered up through the priest, an IMAGE: but they called it the body itself and the blood itself¹.

The matchless theologians of Nice, in their zeal against the Council of Constantinople which in the year 754 had rightly determined the Eucharist to be an *image* of Christ's body and blood, appear to have unaccountably overlooked the circumstance: that, even to say nothing of the ancient perpetual use of the synonymns, *type*, *antitype*, *symbol*, *figure*, *sign*, and *similitude*; the very

αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ· μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου τεθεωμένον, αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου εἰπόντος, Τοῦτό μου ἐστι, ΟΥ ΤΥΠΟΣ τοῦ αἵματος, ἀλλὰ τὸ αἷμα. Joan. Damasc. Orthod. Fid. lib. iv. c. 14.

¹ Οὐδεὶς γάρ ποτε, τῶν σαλπύγγων τοῦ Πνεύματος ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, ἢ τῶν ἀοιδίμων πατέρων ἡμῶν, τὴν ἀναίμακτον ἡμῶν θυσίαν,—εἶπεν ΕΙΚΟΝΑ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ—Καὶ οὐκ εἶπε· Λάβετε, φάγετε, τὴν ΕΙΚΟΝΑ τοῦ σώματός μου—Οὐκοῦν σαφῶς ἀποδέδεικται, ὅτι ΟΥΔΑΜΟΥ, οὔτε ὁ Κύριος, οὔτε οἱ ἀποστόλοι, ἢ πατέρες, ΕΙΚΟΝΑ εἶπον τὴν διὰ τοῦ ἱερέως προσφερομένην ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ σῶμα καὶ αὐτὸ αἷμα. Concil. Nicen. ii. act. vi. Labb. Concil. vol. vii. p. 448, 449.

word *image* had actually, in the fourth and fifth centuries, been thus employed, both by Eusebius and Theodoret of the Greek Church, and by Ambrose and Gelasius of the Latin Church¹. Their point, however, was at all events to be carried: and, in the use of that important controversial weapon *hardy assertion*, we find them by no means either scrupulous or parsimonious.

Yet, while they thus dogmatised respecting the alleged uniform rejection of the word *image*; they ventured not to deny, though the acknowledgment is made with evident soreness, that the elements had been perpetually styled *antitypes*. The difficulty, therefore, was, how to manage this provoking circumstance: for small were the emolument of compendiously discarding the troublesome word *image*, if its synonymn the equally troublesome word *antitype* should be suffered to remain unaccounted for. Truly, they overcame the difficulty in manner following. The *occurrence* of the word ANTOTYPE, even in the writings of the holy Fathers, they were constrained to acknowledge: but they roundly asserted, that the bread and wine were never called ANTYPES, save *previously* to their consecration².

An honest inquirer, who shall have carefully perused the passages already adduced in quite

¹ See above, book ii. chap. 4. § II. 1. (8.) (9.) (11.) (13.)

² ΠΡΟ ΜΕΝ ΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ἁγιασμοῦ τελειώσεως, ἌΝΤΙΤΥΠΑ τισὶ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἐνσεβῶς ἔδοξεν ὀνομάζεσθαι. Concil. Nicen. ii. act. vi. Labb. Concil. vol. vii. p. 449.

sufficient abundance, will of course perceive, that such an assertion, thrown out for the evident purpose of merely serving a turn, requires not any answer. Lest, however, some dauntless modern theologian of the Latin School should revive the attempted evasion of the Nicene Fathers, an answer shall be given in regular mood and form.

Gregory Nazianzen, who flourished in the fourth century, tells us, that his sister Gorgonia, when labouring under a malady which had baffled the power of medicine, rose in the night and prostrated herself before the altar. Here she solemnly prayed for deliverance : when, lo, having mingled with her tears *whatsoever portion of the ANTITYPES of the precious body or blood her hand had treasured up*, she departed completely healed of her malady¹.

Here, plainly, the ANTITYPES were the *consecrated* elements, which Gorgonia had reserved from the last celebration of the Eucharist : and thus perishes the adventurous allegation of the Nicene Fathers, that, by the ancients, the elements were styled ANTITYPES only *before*, and never *after*, their consecration.

(3.) This allegation, however, is not without its measure of utility. Our modern latin divines, as I gather from the translation of Cyril of Jerusalem by that zealous Romanist Grodecus, would

¹ Εἰ που τὸ τῶν ἈΝΤΙΤΥΠΩΝ τοῦ τιμίου σώματος ἢ τοῦ αἵματος ἢ χεῖρ ἐθησαύρισεν, τοῦτο καταμεινῶσα τοῖς δάκρυσιν, ὧ τοῦ θαύματος, ἀπῆλθεν εὐθὺς αἰσθημένη τῆς σωτηρίας, κούφη καὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν. Gregor. Nazian. Orat. xi. Oper. vol. i. p. 187.

fain have us understand, by *type* and *antitype*, nothing more than what they call *species* or *appearance*: so that, when the body and blood of Christ are said to be given in the TYPE of bread and wine; the true meaning of such phraseology is, that the literal or substantial body and blood of the Redeemer are given in the *species* or under the *outward delusive appearance* of bread and wine¹. But, to such an evasion, the allegation of the Nicene Fathers, by the very necessity of its drift and purpose, is plainly fatal: for that allegation, through the medium of its perfectly intelligible object, distinctly shews, how, in *their* days, with reference to the body and blood of Christ, the words *type* and *antitype* were always understood. They acknowledged, that, by the ancients, the bread and wine were said to be *types* or *antitypes* of Christ's body and blood. But, by such phraseology, they evidently understood the ancients to mean, that the elements were the *symbols* or *figures* or *representations* or *signs* or *similitudes* of the body and blood of Christ: for, otherwise, in defence of their new-fangled doctrine of a substantial presence, they needed not to have troubled themselves to assert, that, by the ancients, the name of ANTITYPES WAS

¹ Cyril says: 'Εν ΤΥΠΩι γὰρ ἄρτον, εἶδοται σοι τὸ σῶμα· καὶ, ἐν ΤΥΠΩι οἴνου, εἶδοται σοι τὸ αἷμα. This is rendered by Grodecus: Nam, sub SPECIE panis, datur tibi corpus: et, sub SPECIE vini, datur sanguis.

Again: Cyril says: Γενόμενοι γὰρ, οὐκ ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον κελεύονται γεύσασθαι, ἀλλὰ ἌNTITYΠΟΥ σώματος καὶ αἵματος

only bestowed upon the elements *antecedently* to their consecration ¹.

3. Toward the close, then, of the eighth century, we see, the Fathers of the second Nicene Council were employed in diligently cursing all those, who, after the manner of the ancients, should presume to say, that the consecrated bread and wine are an *image* or *figure* or *similitude* of the body and blood of Christ: but, during some years before, and during many years after, the memorable year 787, the old-fashioned divines of the hitherto less corrupted West continued, in their rustic simplicity, to use the identical phraseology, which an Ecumenical Council in the East had branded with the stamp of anathematised heresy.

(1.) *The Lord, in the Supper*, says the venerable Bede about the year 720, gave to his disciples the *FIGURE* of his holy body and blood ².

(2.) *Sacraments*, says Amalar of Triers about the year 820, ought to have a certain *SIMILITUDE* of those things, whereof they are sacraments. *Let*

τοῦ Χριστοῦ. This, still more liberally, is rendered by Grodecius: Gustantes enim, non panem aut vinum ut gustent, jubentur, sed, QUOD SUB SPECIE EST (videlicet panis et vinum), corpus et sanguinem Christi.

¹ I need scarcely remark, that exactly the same proof is furnished by John of Damascus. Had he interpreted τύπος as Grodecius is pleased to do, he never would have exclaimed μή γένοιτο.

² Dedit in cœna discipulis FIGURAM sacrosancti corporis et sanguinis sui. Bed. Comment. in Psalm. iii.

*us, therefore, say, that the officiating priest bears a SIMILITUDE to Christ, as the bread and wine bear a SIMILITUDE to the body and blood of Christ*¹—*After a certain mode, the sacrament of the body of Christ is Christ's body. For, unless sacraments had a certain SIMILITUDE of those things whereof they are sacraments, they would not be sacraments at all: but, from this very SIMILITUDE, they commonly receive the names of the things themselves*².

(3.) *Christ, says Walafrid Strabo about the year 860, in the supper, which, before his betrayal, he had celebrated with his disciples after the solemnisation of the ancient Passover, delivered to the same disciples the sacraments of his body and blood in the substance of bread and wine:—and taught them, that they ought to pass, from things carnal to things spiritual, from things earthly to things heavenly, from IMAGES to truth*³.

¹ Sacramenta enim debent habere similitudinem aliquam earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt. Quapropter SIMILIS sit sacerdos Christo, sicut panis et liquor SIMILIA sunt corpori et sanguini Christi. Amalar. de Eccles. Offic. in Præfat.

² Secundum quendam modum, sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est. Si enim sacramenta quandam SIMILITUDINEM earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent; omnino sacramenta non essent: ex hac autem SIMILITUDINE plerumque jam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Amalar. de Eccles. Offic. lib. i. c. 24.

³ Itaque Christus, in cœna, quam, ante traditionem suam, ultimam cum discipulis habuit, post paschæ veteris solennia, corporis et sanguinis sui sacramenta, in panis et vini substantia, eisdem discipulis tradidit:—et, a carnalibus ad spiritualia,

III. The Romanist, we have seen, contends, that the words of our Lord, in the institution of the

a terrenis ad cœlestia, ab IMAGINIBUS ad veritatem, docuit transeundum. Walaf. Strab. de Reb. Eccles. c. xvi.

I. The attentive reader will not fail to note Walafrid's decisive expression, *In panis et vini SUBSTANTIA*.

For the three preceding citations from Bede and Amalar and Walafrid Strabo, I am indebted to Bishop Cosin. His Lordship also gives an extract from an epistle of the Emperor Charlemagne to Alcuin, in the year 778. Whatever may have been the theological attainments of that great Prince, his language may at least be viewed, as shewing the familiar doctrine which prevailed among the western divines of *his* days.

Christus, cœnando cum discipulis, panem fregit, et calicem pariter dedit eis, in FIGURAM corporis et sanguinis sui : nobisque profuturum magnum exhibuit sacramentum. Car. Magn. Epist. ad Alcuin. de ration. Septuagint.

II. On this same topic, the Work of Bertram of Corby, *on the body and blood of Christ*, is, as we shall presently find, most full and decisive. Flourishing about the middle of the ninth century, while the controversy respecting the allegation of Paschase Radbert was at its height, he expressly states and maintains : that, *although the consecrated elements are indeed the body and blood of Christ, they are not so REALLY but only FIGURATIVELY*.

The Tridentine Fathers, with good reason, placed the Work of Bertram in their list of prohibited books. Nevertheless, the learned Professors of Douay seem to have thought the proposed remedy a somewhat strong measure : for they incline to maintain, that *with due correction* administered of course by a catholic hand, the Work of this stubborn witness of the ninth century may peradventure be tolerated. They hint, however, that *its notoriety alone* procured it that favour. The contents of the book could not conveniently be hushed up : therefore it were best to let it loose upon the world *in an amended form*.

Eucharist, ought to be understood *literally* or *carnally*: while the Anglican, with the members

The whole passage exhibits so curious a specimen of the most approved Duacensic system of explaining and managing and correcting and garbling a troublesome old author, that I shall borrow it from the citation of Bishop Cosin.

Liber ille Bertrami, quum jam sæpe recusus sit et lectus a plurimis, ac per interdictum nomen omnibus innotuerit, EMENDATUS tolerari queat. Fuit enim Bertramus catholicus Presbyter ac monachus Corbeiensis Cœnobii, Carolo Calvo carus ac venerabilis. Et, quum in Catholicis veteribus aliis plurimos feramus errores, EXTENUEMUS, EXCUSEMUS, EXCOGITATO COMMENT. PERSÆPE NEGEMUS, ET COMMODUM SENSUM EIS AFFINGAMUS, dum opponuntur in disputationibus aut in conflictationibus cum adversariis: non videmus, *cur non eandem œquitatem et diligentem recognitionem non mereatur Bertramus*; ne hæretici oggant, nos Antiquitatem pro ipsis facientem exurere et prohibere: *quia et illud metuimus, ne liber iste, non solum ab hæreticis, verum immorigeris quoque Catholicis, ob interdictum avidius legatur, odiosius allegetur, et plus vetitus quam permissus noceat.* Ind. Expurg. Belg. p. 54.

1. The Bishop subjoins sundry specimens of their *emendations* or *convenient explications*. One of them I shall give.

Bertram had unluckily written: *So far as respects the SUBSTANCE of the creatures, whatever they were BEFORE consecration, they are the same also AFTER consecration.*

A plain man would deem this sufficiently explicit: but Douay Doctors are not easily discouraged. They tell us, that Bertram's word *Substance* must be understood only of the external appearances or accidents of the bread and wine: though they unguardedly confess, that good honest Bertram had never, in the course of his whole life, heard of such a portent, as *the existence of accidents without substance.*

Dr. Trevern, I remember, copying his predecessors in *convenient explications*, would have us believe, that, when Theo-

of various other reformed Churches, maintains, that they ought to be understood *figuratively* or

doret, in the *yet earlier* fifth century, spake of *substance*, he meant nothing more than *accidents*. This decisive passage from Theodoret will presently appear in its due place.

2. Another specimen of popish *management*, which splendidly exemplifies the Duacensic Maxim, *Excogitato commento persæpe negemus*, occurs in the remarkable case of Elfric's epistle to Wulfstane written about the close of the tenth century.

The original Saxon, happily preserved in the Library of Exeter Cathedral M. 3, contains the following passage, which strikingly exemplifies the theology of our ancestors previous to the Norman conquest.

Nevertheless, this sacrifice is NOT the same body of his wherein he suffered for us, NOR the same blood of his which he shed for us : but SPIRITUALLY it is made his body and blood ; as was that manna which rained from heaven, and as was that water which did flow out of the rock.

But, in the latin translation of the epistle preserved in the Library of Worcester Cathedral, the above passage has been carefully *erased*, doubtless by the zealous hand of some transubstantialising Romanist. That operation being performed, henceforth a latin disputant might stoutly deny the existence of any passage distinctly hostile to the doctrine of Transubstantiation throughout the whole epistle. *Excogitato commento, sæpe negemus.*

For my knowledge of this fact, I am indebted to Mr. Soames and Dr. Stewart. See Soames's *Hist. of the Reform.* vol. iii. p. 165, 166, and Stewart's *Protestant Layman*, p. 322—324.

Elfric had evidently studied Augustine: for the above passage, though heretical in the eyes of a Romanist, is built upon a closely parallel passage in August. *Enarr.* in Psalm xeviii. *Oper.* vol. viii. p. 397. It will presently be produced. See below, § III. 6.

spiritually. I shall now, therefore, produce a series of passages, in which the ancient theologians, either directly pronounce that Christ's phraseology ought to be explained *spiritually*, or unequivocally assert that the bread and wine are not *properly* his body and blood, or expressly determine that his substantial body and blood are not *literally* present in the Eucharist.

1. Let us first hear Tertullian.

If Christ declares, that The flesh profiteth nothing; the sense must be decided from the matter of the saying. For, because the Jews deemed his discourse hard and intolerable, as if he had truly determined that his flesh was to be eaten by them: in order that he might dispose the state of salvation toward the spirit, he promised; It is the spirit that quickeneth. And thus he subjoined: The flesh profiteth nothing; namely, to quicken. There follows also what he would have us to understand by spirit: The words, which I have spoken unto you, are spirit and life—Appointing, therefore, the word to be the vivifier, because the word is spirit and life; he called the same likewise his own flesh: for, since the Word was made flesh, it was thence to be sought for the purpose of life, and was to be devoured in the hearing, and was to be ruminated upon in the intellect, and was to be digested by faith. Hence he had shortly before pronounced his flesh to be also heavenly bread¹.

¹ Si carnem ait nihil prodesse, ex materia dicti dirigendus est sensus. Nam, quia durum et intolerabilem existimaverunt

2. Let us next hear Cyril of Jerusalem, while instructing his Catechumens in the true import of our Lord's phraseology.

Christ, once conversing with the Jews, said: Except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood, ye have not life in yourselves. They, not having spiritually understood the things which were spoken, being scandalised, went back; fancying, that he exhorts them to flesh-eating—In the new Covenant, heavenly bread and the cup of salvation sanctify the soul and body. As bread corresponds to the body, thus also the word is fitting to the soul—When David says to God; Thou hast prepared a table before me: what means he else, than the mystical and intellectual table which God hath prepared before us?—On this account also, Solomon, enigmatising this grace, says, in the book of Ecclesiastes: Come, eat thy bread in cheerfulness, namely the spiritual bread; and come (he calls with a saving and beatifying vocation), drink thy wine in a good heart, namely the

sermonem ejus, quasi verè carnem suam illis edendam determinasset: ut in spiritum disponeret statum salutis, promisit; *spiritus est qui vivificat.* Atque ita subjunxit: *Caro nihil prodest;* ad vivificandum, scilicet. Exequitur etiam, quid velit intelligi spiritum: *Verba, quæ locutus sum vobis, spiritus sunt, vita sunt—*Itaque sermonem constituens vivificatorem, quia spiritus et vita sermo, eundem etiam *carnem suam* dixit, quia et sermo caro erat factus, proinde in causam vitæ appetendus, et devorandus auditu, et ruminandus intellectu, et fide digerendus. Nam et, paulo ante, carnem suam panem quoque cœlestem pronunciarat. Tertull. de resurr. carn. § xxviii. Oper, p. 69.

spiritual wine—Strengthen, then, thy heart, partaking of this bread as spiritual: and make joyful the countenance of thy soul¹.

3. Let us next hear the great Athanasius.

When our Lord conversed on the eating of his body, and when he thence beheld many scandalised, he forthwith added: Doth this offend you? What if ye shall behold the Son of man ascending where he was before? It is the spirit that quickeneth: the flesh profiteth nothing. The words, which I speak unto you, are spirit and life. Both these matters, the flesh and the spirit, he said respecting himself: and he distinguished the spirit from the flesh, in order that, believing both the visible and the invisible, they might understand his sayings to be not carnal but spiritual. For to how many persons could his body have sufficed for food: so that it might become the aliment of the whole world? But, that he might divert their minds from carnal cogitations, and that they might learn the flesh which he would give them to be supercelestial and spiritual food: he, on this account, mentioned the ascent of the Son of man to heaven. The words, said he, which I speak unto you, are spirit and life.

¹ Ποτέ Χριστός, τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις διαλεγόμενος, ἔλεγεν· Ἐὰν μὴ φάγητέ μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνητέ μου τὸ αἷμα, οὐκ ἔχετε ζωὴν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. Ἐκεῖνοι, μὴ ἀκηκούτες πνευματικῶς τῶν λεγομένων, σκανδαλισθέντες, ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, νομίζοντες ὅτι ἐπὶ σαρκοφαγίαν αὐτοὺς προτρέπεται—Ἐν τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ, ἄρτος οὐράνιος, καὶ ποτήριον σωτηρίου, ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀγιάζοντα. “Ὡσπερ ὁ ἄρτος σώματι κατάλληλος· οὕτω καὶ ὁ λόγος τῇ ψυχῇ ἀρμόδιος

*As if he had intimated: My body shall be exhibited and given as food for the world; so that that food shall be given to each one spiritually, and shall to all be a preservative to the resurrection unto life eternal*¹.

—“Ὅταν ὁ ἄνθρωπος λέγῃ Θεῶ, Ἥτοίμασας ἐνώπιον μου τράπεζαν· τί ἄλλο σημαίνει ἢ τὴν μυστικὴν καὶ νοητὴν τράπεζαν, ἣν ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῖν ἡτοίμασεν ἐξεναντίας;—Διὰ τοῦτο, καὶ ὁ Σολομών, ταύτην αἰνιττόμενος τὴν χάριν, ἐν τῷ Ἐκκλησιαστῇ λέγει· Δεῦρο, φάγε ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ τὸν ἄρτον σου, τὸν πνευματικὸν ἄρτον· Δεῦρο (καλεῖ τὴν σωτήριον καὶ μακαριοποιὸν κλησιν), καὶ πῖε τὸν οἶνον σου ἐν καρδίᾳ ἀγαθῇ, τὸν πνευματικὸν οἶνον—Στηρίζου τὴν καρδίαν, μεταλαμβάνων αὐτοῦ ὡς πνευματικοῦ· καὶ ἰλάρουνον τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς σου πρόσωπον. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. Mystag. iv. p. 236, 237, 238.

¹ Ὅπηνίκα περὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος βρώσεως διαλεγόμενος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὺς ἐωρακῶς τοὺς σκανδαλισθέντας, φησὶν ὁ Κύριος· Τοῦτο ὑμᾶς σκανδαλίζει; Ἐὰν οὖν θεωρήσητε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀναβαίοντα ὅπου ἦν τὸ πρότερον; Τὸ πνεῦμα ἐστὶ τὸ ζωοποιῶν· ἡ σὰρξ ὠφελεῖ οὐδέν. Τὰ ῥήματα, ἃ ἐγὼ λελάληκα ὑμῖν, πνεῦμά ἐστι καὶ ζωή. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἀμφοτέρα περὶ αὐτοῦ εἶρηκε, σάρκα καὶ πνεῦμα· καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα πρὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα διέστειλεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον τὸ φαινόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀορατὸν αὐτοῦ, πιστεύσαντες, μάθωσιν· ὅτι καὶ, ἃ λέγει, οὐκ ἔστι σαρκικὰ, ἀλλὰ πνευματικά. Πόσοις γὰρ ἤρκει τὸ σῶμα πρὸς βρῶσιν, ἵνα καὶ τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς τοῦτο τροφή γένηται; Ἀλλὰ, διὰ τοῦτο, τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναβάσεως ἐμνημόνευσε τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἵνα τῆς σωματικῆς ἐννοίας αὐτοῦ ἀφελεκύσῃ, καὶ λοιπὸν τὴν εἰρημένην σάρκα βρῶσιν ἄνωθεν οὐράνιον καὶ πνευματικὴν τροφήν παρ’ αὐτοῦ διδομένην μάθωσιν. Ἄ γὰρ λελάληκα, φησὶν, ὑμῖν, πνεῦμά ἐστι καὶ ζωή. Ἴσον τῷ εἰπεῖν· Τὸ μὲν δεικνύμενον καὶ διδόμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου δοθήσεται τροφή, ὡς πνευματικῶς ἐν ἐκάστῳ ταύτην ἀναδίδοσθαι, καὶ γίνεσθαι πᾶσι φυλακτήριον εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς αἰωνίου. Athan. in illud Evan. Quicumque dixerit verbum contra filium hominis. Oper. vol. i. p. 771, 772.

4. We may next hear the ancient author of the Treatise on the Lord's Supper among the Works of Cyprian.

At the doctrine of this mystery the auditors were astonished, when the Lord said: Except ye shall eat the flesh of the Son of man and shall drink his blood, ye shall not have life in you. Because some believed not this, nor were able to understand it, they went back: for they thought it a horrible and nefarious thing to eat human flesh; fancying, that they were taught to eat his flesh boiled or roasted or cut asunder, when yet his personal flesh, if divided into portions, would not be sufficient for the whole human race—But, in thoughts of this description, flesh and blood profit nothing: for, as the Master himself taught us, the words are spirit and life; nor, unless faith be added, can the carnal sense penetrate to the understanding of so great a profundity—The divine essence ineffably pours itself into the visible sacrament, that devotion in respect to the sacraments might be a point of religion, and that a more sincere access, even so far as to the participation of the spirit, might lie open to that reality of which the body and blood are sacraments: not indeed that this union can extend to any participation of the actual substance of Christ, but certainly to a most germane association¹.

¹ Ad doctrinam mysterii hujus obstupuerant auditores, cum diceret Dominus: *Nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis, et biberitis ejus sanguinem; non habebitis vitam in vobis. Quod quidam quia non credebant, nec poterant intelligere, abierunt*

5. Let us next hear Facundus an African Prelate, who, about the middle of the sixth century, wrote to defend Theodore of Mopsuesta for having asserted; that even Christ himself received the adoption of sons, inasmuch as he condescended to receive the initiatory sacrament of adoption, both when he was circumcised and when he was baptised.

The sacrament of adoption may be called adoption: just as the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, which is in the consecrated bread and wine, we are wont to call his body and blood. Not, indeed, that the bread is properly his body, or that the wine is properly his blood: but we so denominate them, because they contain the mystery of his body and blood within themselves. Hence it was, that our Lord called the consecrated bread and wine,

retro: quia horrendum eis et nefarium videbatur vesci carne humana; existimantes, hoc eo modo dici, ut carnem ejus vel elixam vel assam sectamque membratim edere docerentur, cum illius personæ caro si in frusta partiretur, non omni humano generi posset sufficere—Sed, in cogitationibus hujusmodi, caro et sanguis non prodest quidquam: quia, sicut ipse Magister exposuit, *verba hæc spiritus et vita sunt*: nec carnalis sensus ad intellectum tantæ profunditatis penetrat, nisi fides accedat—Sacramento visibili ineffabiliter divina se infudit essentia, ut esset religioni circa sacramenta devotio; et ad veritatem, cujus corpus et sanguis sacramenta sunt, sincerior pateret accessus, usque ad participationem spiritûs: non quod usque ad consubstantialitatem Christi, sed usque ad societatem germanissimam ejus, hæc unitas pervenisset. Tractat. de cœn. Domin. ad calc. Oper. Cyprian. vol. ii. p. 40.

*which he delivered to his disciples, his own body and blood*¹.

6. Finally, let us hear the distinct and positive avowal of Augustine, in professed opposition to the gross fancy of those Jews who imagined that our Saviour offered to give his own literal flesh and blood as a necessary aliment for his disciples.

*Christ instructed them, and said unto them: It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing. The words, which I speak unto you, are spirit and life. As if he had said: Understand SPIRITUALLY what I have spoken. You are NOT about to eat this identical body, which you see; and you are NOT about to drink this identical blood, which they who crucify me will pour out. I have commended unto you a certain sacrament: which, if SPIRITUALLY understood, will vivify you. Though it must be celebrated visibly, it must be understood invisibly*².

¹ Potest sacramentum adoptionis *adoptio* nuncupari: sicut sacramentum corporis et sanguinis ejus, quod est in pane et poculo consecrato, *corpus ejus et sanguinem* dicimus; non quod *proprie* corpus ejus sit panis, et poculum sanguis; sed quod in se mysterium corporis sanguisque contineant. Hinc et ipse Dominus benedictum panem et calicem, quem discipulis tradidit, *corpus et sanguinem suum* vocavit. Facund. Defens. Concil. Chalced. lib. ix. c. 5. Oper. p. 144.

² Ille autem instruxit eos, et ait illis: *Spiritus est, qui vivificat: caro autem nihil prodest. Verba, quæ locutus sum vobis, spiritus est et vita. Spiritualiter intelligite, quod locutus sum. Non hoc corpus, quod videtis, mandicaturi estis: et bibitur illum sanguinem, quem fusuri sunt qui me crucifigent. Sacra-*

IV. In criticism and in controversy there is this great utility, that it is morally impossible to misapprehend the sentiments of the critic or the controvertist. We may deem the criticism *itself* erroneous, or we may pronounce the argument *itself* inconclusive: but the *opinions* of their respective authors we *cannot* mistake. The very *drift* of the criticism or of the argument invincibly establishes the FACT, that such and such were the sentiments of the critic or of the controvertist.

The evidence, which I shall now bring forward, is of this precise description. We find the early theologians, not only (as we have already seen) denying in express terms the doctrine of Transubstantiation, but denying it also through the medium of criticism and controversy. Their rejection, therefore, of the doctrine unavoidably and irrefragably follows: and, since they always obviously and sometimes even avowedly reject it on behalf of the Catholic Church; the Catholic Church of the several ages, in which they respectively flourished, must clearly have also rejected the doctrine in question.

1. During the times of the Alexandrian Clement, or in the course of the second century, certain sectaries, who bore the name of *Encratites*, contended, that the use of wine was unlaw-

mentum aliquod vobis commendavi: spiritualiter intellectum vivificabit vos. Etsi necesse est illud visibiliter celebrari, oportet tamen invisibiliter intelligi. August. Enarr. in Psalm. xcvi. Oper. vol. viii. p. 397.

ful. Among other arguments, Clement employs against them one deduced from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Christ himself, he reasons, consecrated true and proper wine in the institution of the Eucharist. This wine, thus consecrated, he himself commanded his disciples to drink. Therefore, on the invincible authority of our Saviour Christ, the use of wine cannot but be lawful.

Know well, says he in the winding up of his argument, *that the Lord himself also partook of wine: for he himself also was a man. And he blessed the wine, saying: Take, drink; this is my blood, the blood of the vine. The holy stream of exhilaration allegorically represents the Word, who poured himself out, on behalf of many, for the remission of sins*¹.

Thus runs the argument of Clement against the Eucharites: perfectly conclusive, if the doctrine of Transubstantiation be rejected; perfectly inconclusive, if the doctrine of Transubstantiation be received. According to the speculation of the Transubstantialists, the substance of the wine is literally changed into the substance of human blood through virtue of the prayer of consecration. Now, had Clement and the Catholics of

¹ Εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, μετέλαβεν οἴνου καὶ αὐτός· καὶ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος καὶ αὐτός. Καὶ εὐλόγησέν τε τὸν οἶνον, εἰπὼν· Λάβετε, πίετε· τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμα, αἷμα τῆς ἀμπέλου. Τὸν Λόγον, τὸν περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχεόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εὐφροσύνης ἄγιον ἀλληγορεῖ νάμα. Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. ii. c. 2. Oper. p. 158.

his age held any such opinion, he never, unless he were an absolute idiot, could have reasoned as he *has* done: for, though our Lord's command to drink *wine* in the Eucharist is full proof of the lawfulness of drinking *wine*; his command to drink *blood* in the Eucharist were assuredly no proof whatever, that the use of *wine* is lawful. The very reasoning, therefore, of Clement irresistibly proves, that he never could have held the doctrine of Transubstantiation: and, accordingly, he tells us, not that the holy or consecrated wine *was changed into the substance* of Christ's blood, but that the holy or consecrated wine *allegorically represents* or *figuratively signifies* it.

2. We have recently seen Augustine, on behalf of the Church at the close of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth, expressly declaring, that, in the sacrament of the Eucharist, we do NOT eat and drink the literal body and blood of Christ, but that the words of the Lord are to be understood *spiritually*¹. Let us now attend to his perfectly correspondent criticism on the tropical language of Scripture.

In the interpretation of figurative passages, let the following canon be observed—

If the passage be preceptive, either forbidding some flagitious deed and some heinous crime, or commanding something useful and beneficent: then such

¹ See above, book ii. chap. 4. § III. 6.

passage is NOT FIGURATIVE. But, if the passage seems, either to command some flagitious deed and some heinous crime, or to forbid something useful and beneficent: then such passage is FIGURATIVE.

Thus, for example, Christ says: Unless ye shall eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood; ye shall have no life in you. Now, in these words, he seems to command a heinous crime or a flagitious deed. THEREFORE THE PASSAGE IS A FIGURE, enjoining us to communicate in the passion of our Lord, and admonishing us to lay it up sweetly and usefully in our memory: because, for us, his flesh was crucified and wounded.

On the other hand, Scripture says: If thy enemy shall hunger, give him food; if he shall thirst, give him drink. Here, without all doubt, an act of beneficence is enjoined. But, as for the passage which immediately follows; This doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head: one might imagine, so far as the bare words are concerned, that an action of heinous malevolence was commanded. Under such circumstances, therefore, doubt not, that THE PASSAGE WAS SPOKEN FIGURATIVELY. For, since it is verbally capable of a double interpretation, after one mode to inflict an injury, after another mode to confer a benefit: charity requires, that, by coals of fire, you should understand the burning groans of penitence, through which is healed the pride of that person, who grieves that he has been an enemy of the man

that returns him good for evil by assisting him in his distress ¹.

Augustine, we may observe, first lays down a canon of hermeneutic criticism, and then illustrates it with appropriate examples. Now one of these examples is the command of Christ to eat his flesh and to drink his blood: and another of them, professedly adduced as homogeneous, is our Lord's expression relative to the heaping coals of fire upon the head of an enemy. Hence, from the very drift and necessity of his criticism, it is,

¹ Servabitur ergo, in locutionibus figuratis, regula hujusmodi—

Si præceptiva locutio est, aut flagitium aut facinus vetans, aut utilitatem aut beneficentiam jubens; NON EST FIGURATA. Si autem flagitium aut facinus videtur jubere, aut utilitatem aut beneficentiam vetare; FIGURATA EST.

Nisi manducaveritis, inquit, *carnem filii hominis et sanguinem biberitis, non habebitis vitam in vobis*. Facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere. FIGURA EST ERGO, præcipiens passioni Domini esse communicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter reconddendum in memoria: quia pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa et vulnerata sit.

Ait Scriptura: *Si esurierit inimicus tuus, ciba illum: si sitit, potum da illi*. Hic, nullo dubitante, beneficentiam præcipit. Sed quod sequitur; *Hoc enim faciens carbones ignis congeres super caput ejus*: malevolentiae facinus putes juberi. Ne igitur dubitaveris FIGURATE DICTUM: et, cum possit dupliciter interpretari, uno modo ad nocendum, altero ad præstandum beneficium; te potius charitas revocet, ut intelligas carbones ignis esse urentes poenitentiae gemitus, quibus superbia sanatur ejus, qui dolet se inimicum fuisse hominis a quo ejus miseriae subvenitur. August. de Doctrin. Christian. lib. iii. c. 15, 16.

I think, quite impossible to misapprehend the sentiments of Augustine relative to the nature of the Eucharist.

3. In the fifth century, the Eutychians maintained, that the body of Christ, after his final ascension to heaven, was substantially changed or absorbed into the divine essence; the substance and nature of the body being converted into the substance and nature of the Deity¹.

¹ To this speculation of the Eutychians, the author of the Athanasian Creed alludes in the following clauses.

One Christ: one, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the manhood into God; one altogether, NOT BY CONFUSION OF SUBSTANCE, but by unity of person.

The four first Ecumenical Councils were respectively summoned against four principal heresies: the Council of Nice, against Arianism; the Council of Constantinople, against Apollinarianism; the Council of Ephesus, against Nestorianism; and the Council of Chalcedon, against Eutychianism. Hence the decisions of these four great orthodox Councils were briefly said to be comprehended in four greek words. In their judgment, according to the sense of the Catholic Church handed down from the beginning, *Christ is God and man*, ἀληθῶς, τελείως, ἀδιαίρετως, ἀσυγχύτως. The last of these words, ἀσυγχύτως, *without confusion of substance*, refers to the Eutychian heresy, condemned by the Council of Chalcedon.

Perhaps, for the information of some readers, and for the vindicatory explanation of a most valuable Creed very little understood and therefore by the ignorant very strenuously reviled, it may not be useless to remark, that the Athanasian Symbol was drawn up for the purpose of meeting the verbal subtleties and the refined distinctions resorted to by the wrangling advocates of the four principal condemned heresies of Arianism, Apollinarianism, Nestorianism, and Eutychianism.

This singular notion they attempted to defend or to illustrate by citing against the Catholics, as a sort of *argumentum ad hominem*, their own familiar language respecting the Eucharist. After consecration, the elements of bread and wine were, by the Catholics, always denominated *the body and blood of Christ*. Their phraseology, indeed, as every Catechumen of the higher class well knew, was simply *metonymical*: but it suited the Eutychians, particularly as they might easily adduce specimens of very inflated and exaggerated and affectedly mysterious language, to understand and interpret it *literally*. Accordingly, on this perversion, they built their illustrative argument.

As the bread and wine, they alleged, are, after consecration, transmuted into the body and blood of Christ: so, they contended, was the body of Christ, after its assumption into heaven, transmuted or absorbed into the divine substance.

Thus, according to *their* statement, stood the argument: and the mode, in which it is answered by Theodoret on behalf of the orthodox Church of the fifth century, is, not *by an admission of the premises coupled with a denial of the conclusion* (the manner, in which a Transubstantialist must inevitably, on *his* principles, have been constrained to answer it), but *by a denial of the conclusion through the medium of an explicit denial of the pre-*

The peculiarities of those heresies compelled the correspondent peculiarities of the Creed.

mises. The Eutychians, in short, *alleged*, that the Catholics held the doctrine which has subsequently been denominated *Transubstantiation*: Theodoret, on the part of the Catholics, flatly *contradicted* the allegation.

Nothing can be more clear and satisfactory, than the method in which Theodoret has managed the controversy. He throws the discussion into the form of a dialogue. The speakers are Eranistes and Orthodoxus. Eranistes is the representative of the Eutychians: Orthodoxus, as his name imports, is the representative of the sound Catholics of the fifth century. By a series of questions, allusive to the ancient Christian Mysteries one of which was the doctrine of the Eucharist, Eranistes dexterously works up Orthodoxus to the *verbally* precise point which he wished: and then pounces upon him with an *argumentum ad hominem*, constructed indeed upon *his own* words, but constructed upon those words taken in the sense wherein Eranistes found it convenient for *his* purpose to take them. Orthodoxus, however, is not thus to be entrapped. He *flatly denies*, on the part of the Church Catholic, the occurrence of any sacramental transubstantiation in the consecrated elements: and assures his disingenuous antagonist, that his words, as understood by the orthodox, convey *no such extraordinary and unheard of meaning*. Thus, forthwith, he effectually stultifies the inductive argument of Eranistes: but then, in the very act of stultifying it, he *denies*, as

palpably unorthodox, the dishonestly alleged doctrine of Transubstantiation.

ERAN. *What call you the offered gift, previous to the sacerdotal invocation ?*

ORTHOD. *I must not speak distinctly : for some of the uninitiated may be present.*

ERAN. *Let your answer, then, be enigmatical.*

ORTHOD. *Food prepared from such and such grains.*

ERAN. *But how do you call the other symbol ?*

ORTHOD. *This also is a common name, denoting a kind of drink.*

ERAN. *But, after consecration, how do you call these things ?*

ORTHOD. *The body of Christ and the blood of Christ.*

ERAN. *And do you believe, that you partake of Christ's body and blood ?*

ORTHOD. *So I believe.*

ERAN. *As, then, the symbols of the Lord's body and blood are one thing BEFORE the sacerdotal invocation ; but, AFTER the invocation, are transmuted and become another thing : so the Lord's body, AFTER its assumption, is transmuted into the divine SUBSTANCE.*

ORTHOD. *You are caught in your own net. For the mystic symbols, AFTER consecration, PASS NOT OUT OF THEIR OWN NATURE. For THEY REMAIN IN THEIR FORMER SUBSTANCE and shape and appearance : and they are seen and touched, such as they*

were before. But they are understood to be what they were: and they are believed and venerated, as being those things which they are believed. Compare, therefore, the IMAGE with the ARCHETYPE; and you will perceive their resemblance: for the TYPE must needs be similar to the TRUTH¹.

The bread and wine, after consecration, says

¹ EPAN. Τί καλεῖς τὸ προσφερόμενον δῶρον, πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως;

ΟΡΘΟΔ. Οὐ χρὴ σαφῶς εἰπεῖν· εἰκὸς γὰρ τινὰς ἀμνήτους παρεῖναι.

EPAN. Αἰνιγματωδῶς ἢ ἀπόκρισις ἔστω.

ΟΡΘΟΔ. Τὴν ἐκ τοιῶνδε σπερμάτων τροφήν.

EPAN. Τὸ δὲ ἕτερον σύμβολον πῶς ὀνομάζομεν;

ΟΡΘΟΔ. Κοινὸν καὶ τοῦτο ὄνομα, πόματος εἶδος σημαῖνον.

EPAN. Μετὰ δέ γε τὸν ἁγιασμόν, πῶς ταῦτα προσαγορεύεις;

ΟΡΘΟΔ. Σῶμα Χριστοῦ καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ.

EPAN. Καὶ πιστεύεις γε σώματος Χριστοῦ μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ αἷματος;

ΟΡΘΟΔ. Οὕτω πιστεύω.

EPAN. Ὡσπερ τοίνυν τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματος τε καὶ αἵματος, ἄλλα μὲν εἰσι πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως, μετὰ δέ γε τὴν ἐπίκλησιν μεταβάλλεται καὶ ἕτερα γίνεται· οὕτω τὸ δεσποτικὸν σῶμα, μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν, εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν μετεβλήθη τὴν θεϊαν.

ΟΡΘΟΔ. Ἐάλως αἷς ὕφηνες ἄρκυσιν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ, μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμόν, τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως. Μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ εἶδους· καὶ ὁρατὰ ἔστι καὶ ἀπτά, οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν· νοεῖται δὲ ἄπερ ἐγένετο· καὶ πιστεύεται, καὶ προσκυνεῖται, ὡς ἐκεῖνα ὄντα ἄπερ πιστεύεται. Παράθεσις τοίνυν τῷ ἀρχετύπῳ τὴν εἰκόνα, καὶ ὄψει τὴν ὁμοιότητα. Χρὴ γὰρ εὐοκένας τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τὸν τύπον. Theodor. Dial. ii. Oper. vol. iv. p. 84, 85.

the personified Orthodoxy of the fifth century, *remain* in their former SUBSTANCE and shape and appearance.

Therefore, if they *remain* in their former SUBSTANCE, they clearly *experience* NO TRANSUBSTANTIATION¹.

¹ For the purpose of evading this direct testimony of Theodoret, the Bishop of Strasbourg, carefully however withholding the original Greek from the profane gaze of the uninitiated, has thought fit to render the important clause, Μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, in the following very extraordinary manner: *They remain in the shape and form of the former substance.* Answ. to Diffic. of Roman. p. 270.

I. By such a version, Dr. Trevern doubtless makes Theodoret speak like a good Papist, who contends that *the substance of the elements is changed while their accidents remain unaffected*: but then, even to say nothing of his forcing Orthodoxus to commit the palpable absurdity of offering a perfectly incongruous reply to Eranistes, he perverts the original Greek in a manner disgraceful to any person who claims to be even a moderate scholar. Had Theodoret meant to have said what the Bishop of Strasbourg has been pleased to put into his mouth, he would have written, not Μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, but Μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας σχήματος καὶ εἴδους. Even a decent schoolboy would teach him, that the Greek of Theodoret is UTTERLY INCAPABLE of the strange version which he has given of it.

Not content, however, with thus indecently falsifying his author, Dr. Trevern, apparently not considering how inconsistent one part of his gloss is with the other, and probably suspecting that his gross mistranslation would not be suffered to pass without merited castigation, attempts to escape through yet a different loop-hole.

Though the whole dispute between the Catholics and the

(1.) It may be useful to remark, that Theodoret in the East was not the only writer against the

Arians ran upon the word *οὐσία* in the undoubted sense of *substance*, though the vain subtleties of the schoolmen had never been heard of in the days of Theodoret, and though Theodoret himself in the immediately preceding *antithetical* speech of Eranistes had actually employed the very word *οὐσία* in the sense of *substance*: yet Dr. Trevern has the hardihood to assure us, that the self-same word *οὐσία*, in the *respondent* speech of Orthodoxus, denotes, not *substance*, but *those physical qualities which the schoolmen call accidents*. Answer to Diff. of Rom. p. 273, 274.

If, then, we put together Dr. Trevern's gloss upon the word *οὐσία* and his projected translation of the leading greek clause; we shall find him exhibiting Theodoret, with stupendous incongruity, as declaring, of the consecrated elements: that *They remain in the shape and form of the former accidents*; in other words, that *They remain in the accidents of the former accidents*; or, in unscholastic English, that *They remain in the physical qualities of the former physical qualities!*

II. The intelligent reader will scarcely believe, that Dr. Trevern's ally and translator, Mr. Husenbeth, has absolutely, in splendid defiance of Greek Syntax, persisted to the last, though the well nigh incredible blunder has been duly pointed out to him, in maintaining the *propriety* and *admissibility* of his gallican principal's translation.

According to Mr. Husenbeth, the strictly legitimate version of *Μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ εἶδους*, is, *They remain in the shape and form of the former substance*: and every charitable attempt, of a plain well-meaning Hellenist like myself, to set him right, is declared by him to be nothing more than so much interminable verbal criticism!

To argue with such an individual is useless: I must even turn him over to the schoolmaster.

III. I regret, that Mr. Berington, *who evidently has not sinned through ignorance*, should have disgraced himself by a

Eutychians during the lapse of the fifth century : their dishonest argument from the eucharistic phraseology of the ancient Catholics, which they with wilful perverseness chose to interpret precisely as the modern Romanists would still have us interpret it, received the self-same answer also from Pope Gelasius in the West.

Certainly, the sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord, which we receive, are a divine thing : because, by these, we are made partakers of the divine nature. Nevertheless, THE SUBSTANCE OR NATURE OF THE BREAD AND WINE CEASES NOT TO EXIST : and, assuredly, the IMAGE and SIMILITUDE of the body and blood of Christ are celebrated in the action of the mysteries ¹.

simulated parenthetic *emendation*, which ought never to have dropped from the pen of an honest scholar.

His version of the passage, with the mock parenthetic *emendation*, runs as follows.

They remain in the former substance, figure, and appearance (or rather, in the shape and form of the former substance), to be seen and to be felt as before. Faith of Cathol. p. 240.

By an intellectual process which surpasses *my* comprehension, Mr. Berington actually adduces the entire passage as *favourable* to the doctrine of Transubstantiation. This accounts for his *emendation* of a right version into a wrong one.

¹ Certè sacramenta quæ sumimus corporis et sanguinis Domini divina res est, propter quod et per eadem divinæ effici-mur consortes naturæ. Et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini : et certè imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur. Gelas. de duab. Christ. natur. cont. Nestor. et Eutych. in Biblioth. Patr. vol. iv. p. 422.

Baronius, shocked, I suppose, that a Pope should hereti-

(2.) I may add, that, when, notwithstanding the repeated assurance of their perversely misinterpreting the conventional phraseology of the Catholics, the Eutychians, even in the sixth century, still pertinaciously continued to employ it, by way of demonstrating, or at least of illustrating, the alleged transmutation of the substance of Christ's body into the substance of the Godhead: they once more received the same answer from Ephrem of Antioch.

*The body of Christ, which is taken by the faithful, NEITHER DEPARTS FROM ITS SENSIBLE SUBSTANCE, on the one hand: nor remains separated from intellectual grace, on the other hand. And spiritual baptism likewise, being whole and single, both retains the propriety of its sensible substance, I mean the water: and loses not that, which it hath become*¹.

cally deny the doctrine of Transubstantiation, wishes to give the Treatise *on the two natures of Christ* to Gelasius of Cyzicus: but that honest and acute Romanist Dupin sufficiently establishes the right of proprietorship in favour of Gelasius the Pope. To my argument it is of the least possible consequence, whether the Cyzicene or the Latin were the true author: in either case, we shall have a Father of the fifth century writing, on behalf of the Catholic Church, *against* the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

¹ Τὸ παρὰ τῶν πιστῶν λαμβανόμενον σῶμα Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῆς αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἐξίσταται, καὶ τῆς νοητῆς ἀδιαίρετον μένει χάριτος. Καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα δὲ πνευματικόν, ὅλον γενόμενον καὶ ἐν ὑπάρχον, καὶ τὸ ἴδιον τῆς αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας, τοῦ ὕδατος λέγω, διασώζει καὶ ὃ γέγονεν οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν. Ephraem. Theopolitan. apud Phot. Bibl. cod. ccxxix. p. 794. Rothomag. 1653.

This answer of Ephrem, clear and distinct as it is even exclusively upon the principle of controversial responsency which forms the basis of the present part of our discussion, acquires yet an additional force and precision, from the circumstance of his bringing, on the evident ground of acknowledged analogical homogeneity, the two holy sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist into immediate comparative juxtaposition. The symbols of bread and wine, he argues, are no more *physically* or *substantially* changed into the body and blood of Christ, than the symbol of water is *physically* or *substantially* changed into the inward moral grace of Baptism. In neither case, do the material elements depart from their own sensible substance or nature. They are severally *united*, indeed, by virtue of consecration, to a spiritual grace: but the spiritual grace is *superadded* to the material symbols. As for the symbols themselves, whether eucharistic or baptismal, they experience no *physical* change. The bread and wine, in the one sacrament, still *remain* bread and wine: just as the water, in the other sacrament, still *remains* water.

4. About the year 818, Paschase Radbert of Corby, either *actually* asserted, or was *thought* to have asserted, the doctrine of *Christ's substantial presence in the sacrament of the holy Supper*. From various expressions in his Work on the Eucharist, it has been doubted by Bishop Cosin,

whether he were truly either a Transubstantialist or a Consubstantialist; and it must be owned, that, throughout the entire Book, his ever varying language is not a little inconsistent¹: but, be this as it may, he and his followers were at least *believed* to have advanced some modification of the tenet of *a substantial presence*; and the not unreasonable ground of that belief was his crude statement, that THE BODY OF CHRIST IN THE EUCHARIST IS THE SAME BODY AS THAT, WHICH WAS BORN OF THE VIRGIN, WHICH SUFFERED UPON THE CROSS, AND WHICH WAS RAISED FROM THE GRAVE².

¹ Cosin. Histor. Transubstan. Papal. c. v. § 29. p. 86—89.

² Quia voluit, licet figura panis et vini hæc sic est, omnino nihil aliud, quam caro Christi et sanguis, post consecrationem credenda sunt. Unde ipsa Veritas ad discipulos: *Hæc*, inquit, *caro mea est pro mundi vita*. Et, ut mirabilius loquar, NON ALIA PLANE, QUAM QUÆ NATA EST DE MARIA, ET PASSA IN CRUCE, ET RESURREXIT DE SEPULCHRO. Hæc, inquam, ipsa est, et ideo Christi caro est, quæ pro mundi vita offertur: et, cum dignè percipitur, vita utique æterna in nobis reparatur. Paschas. Radbert. de Sacram. Eucharist. c. iii. p. 19. Colon. 1551.

For reasons best known to himself, the romish editor of this Work at Cologne has thought fit to print it as the production of Rabanus Maurus Archbishop of Mentz. Doubtless it were important to enlist such a man in the cause of Transubstantiation; and doubtless a Work of that eminent Prelate, *in favour* of the doctrine, might well, as a seasonable corrective, be annexed to the *opposing* Work of Bertram, which could not be altogether suppressed, and which accordingly is printed in the same volume with the Work so liberally bestowed upon Raban: but, in truth, the Archbishop of Mentz not only *held* opinions *directly contrary* to those propounded in the Work which the

This persuasion immediately called up a strenuous opposition to a doctrine, which had *lately* indeed been recognised in the East, but which had *hitherto* been unknown in the West.

(1.) Among the foremost of its opponents, we find, about the year 825, Rabanus Maurus Archbishop of Mentz. In his Epistle to Heribald, he specially notices the offensive statement of Paschase, proves it to be an unscriptural error, and

romish editor has made to bear his name, but even *wrote* specifically and professedly *against* the identical passage which has been cited above.

In the blank leaf of the copy of the Work *de Sacramento Eucharistiæ*, which belongs to Bishop Cosin's Library at Durham, is the following note, most probably in the hand-writing of that learned theologian himself.

Non est hic liber a Rabano scriptus, sed a Paschasio Radberto Monacho Corbiensi, contra quem Rabanus satis apertè argumentatus est. Est igitur ementitum nomen Rabani. Vide Usserium de Success. et Statu Eccles. cap. ii. n. 17. p. 39.

I subjoin the spurious title, which the romish editor at Cologne has prefixed to a Work, which *really* is the property of Paschase Radbert.

Rabanus de Sacramento Eucharistiæ. Opus nunc primum recens editum, ex bibliotheca Cuthberti Tonstalli Episcopi Dunelmensis. Accessit ejusdem argumenti opusculum Bertrami Presbyteri. Coloniae, apud Joannem Quentel. Anno 1551.

By this curious piece of editorial management, Raban of Mentz is exhibited, as *opposing* and *correcting* Bertram of Corby: when, in truth, they were fellow-labourers on the *same* side of the question, both alike *combating* the novel speculations of Paschase Radbert.

sets forth in avowed hostility to it what he esteems the old and true doctrine of the Eucharist.

With respect to your interrogation, Whether the Eucharist, after it has been consumed and in the manner of other food has passed into the draught, returns again into its pristine nature which it had before its consecration upon the altar : a question of this description is superfluous, since in the Gospel the Saviour himself has said ; Every thing, that enters into the mouth, goes into the belly, and passes away into the draught. The sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord is composed of things visible and corporeal : but it produces an invisible sanctification both of the body and of the soul. Why need we, then, on the part of that which is digested in the stomach and which has passed away into the draught, talk of a RETURN to its pristine state : when no person ever asserted the occurrence of any such return ? Lately, indeed, some individuals, not thinking rightly concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, have said : that THAT VERY BODY AND BLOOD OF THE LORD, WHICH WAS BORN FROM THE VIRGIN MARY, IN WHICH THE LORD HIMSELF SUFFERED ON THE CROSS, AND IN WHICH HE ROSE AGAIN FROM THE SEPULCHRE, IS THE SAME AS THAT WHICH IS RECEIVED FROM THE ALTAR. In opposition to which error as far as lay in our power, writing to the Abbot Egilus, we propounded what ought truly to be believed concerning the body itself. For, respecting his body and blood, the Lord says in the Gospel : I

am the living bread, which descended from heaven. If any person shall eat of this bread, he shall live for ever. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He, who eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life. The person, therefore, who eats not that bread and who drinks not that blood, has not the life here intended: for mere temporal life, indeed, without any such manducation, may in this world be enjoyed by men, who are not in his body through faith; but eternal life, which is promised to the saints, can never be enjoyed by such individuals. Lest, however, they should fancy, that, in that meat and drink which they receive carnally and understand not spiritually, life eternal is promised in faith; so that they, who receive it, should die neither in soul nor in body: he condescended to meet and to anticipate any such cogitation: For, when he had said; He, who eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life: he immediately subjoined; I will raise him up at the last day; that, meanwhile, he may have eternal life according to the spirit¹.

¹ Quod autem interrogastis, *Utrum Eucharistia, postquam consumitur et in secessum emittitur more aliorum ciborum, iterum redeat in naturam pristinam quam habuerat antequam in altari consecraretur; superflua est hujusmodi quæstio, cum ipse Salvator dixerit in evangelio: Omne, quod intrat in os, in ventrem vadit, et in secessum emittitur.* Sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Domini ex rebus visibilibus et corporalibus conficitur: sed invisibilem, tam corporis quam animæ, efficit sanctificationem. Quæ est enim ratio, ut hoc, quod stomacho di-

Raban, it appears, had *already* written on the same topic to the Abbot Egilus : but, not content

geritur et in secessum emittitur, iterum in statum pristinum REDEAT; cum nullus hoc unquam fieri asseruerit? Nam quidam nuper de ipso sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini non recte sentientes, dixerunt: HOC IPSUM CORPUS ET SANGUINEM DOMINI; QUOD DE MARIA VIRGINE NATUM EST, ET IN QUO IPSE DOMINUS PASSUS EST IN CRUCE ET RESURREXIT DE SEPULCHRO, IDEM ESSE QUOD SUMITUR DE ALTARI. Cui errori, quantum potuimus, ad Egilum Abbatem scribentes, de corpore ipso quid verè credendum sit, aperuimus. Dicit enim, de corpore et sanguine suo, Dominus in evangelio: *Ego sum panis vivus, qui de cœlo descendi. Si quis manducaverit ex hoc pane, vivet in æternum. Caro enim mea verè est cibus, et sanguis meus verè est potus. Qui manducat meam carnem et bibit meum sanguinem, habet vitam æternam.* Hanc ergo vitam non habet, qui illum panem non manducat, nec istum sanguinem bibit. Nam illam temporalem vitam sine illo homines utcunque in hoc sæculo habere possunt, qui non sunt per fidem in corpore ejus: æternam vero nunquam, quæ sanctis promittitur. Ne autem putarent, sic in isto cibo et potu, quem carnaliter sumunt et spiritualiter non intelligunt, in fide promitti vitam æternam; ut, qui eum sumerent, nec anima nec corpore morerentur, huic cogitationi dignatus est occurrere. Nam, cum dixisset; *Qui manducat carnem meam et bibit meum sanguinem, habet vitam æternam*: continuo subjecit et dixit; *Ego resuscitabo eum in novissimo die*; ut habeat interim, secundum spiritum, vitam æternam. Raban. Archiepis. Mogunt. Epist. ad Heribald. Episc. Autissiodor. de Euchar. c. xxxiii. ad calc. Reginon. Abbat. Pruniens. libr. II. de eccles. disciplin. et relig. Christian. p. 516. Stephan. Baluz. Tutel. Paris. 1671.

I have introduced into the text two obvious and necessary emendations of Baluzius. His notes to that effect run as follows.

Sacramentum corporis et sanguinis id est ex rebus.] Puto

with this effort in the cause of primitive truth, he *likewise* addressed himself to Heribald. That, in his epistle to the latter individual now before us, he referred to the offensive assertion of Paschase, is clear and indisputable: for he has cited it, almost in the precise words of its author, and certainly without the omission of a single article.

On the whole, the language of the Archbishop is, in three several points of view, very remarkable.

Without the slightest hesitation, he pronounces the doctrine of Paschase to be AN ERROR, which he himself was strenuously opposing: by the use of the word SOME, he clearly testifies, *as a naked matter of fact*, that, in his time, the doctrine was held only by a few adventurous admirers of Paschase: and, by the expression LATELY, he no less clearly indicates, also *as a naked matter of fact*, that the doctrine of a material change of substance, though it had been in the fifth century perversely started by the eutychian heretics, and though in the eighth century it had been recognised as orthodox by the second Nicene Council, was, in the ninth century, resisted throughout the West as a palpable innovation.

locum illum ita legendum esse: Sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Domini ex rebus.

Idem esse quod sumitur de altari.] Lacuna hic erat apud Stevartium, qui eam admonuit extare in M. S. exemplari. Nos illam certissimè supplevimus ex præfatione anonymi a Cellotio editi.

(2.) An additional light is thrown upon this important controversy by the celebrated Treatise of Bertram of Corby on the body and blood of Christ.

The novelty of Paschase made so much noise in the West, that it excited the attention of imperial majesty itself. Hence Charles was induced to ask the opinion of Bertram on the subject: and the Work of that very able writer, whose talents though shrouded in monastic seclusion had not escaped the notice even of royalty, is, in fact, an answer to the Emperor's question.

The excellency of your highness asks me: Whether the body and blood of Christ, which in the Church is received by the mouth of the faithful, is produced, only in a mystery, or in reality. In other words, you ask me: Whether it contains somewhat secret, which is manifest to the eye of faith exclusively: or Whether, without the veil of any mystery, the corporeal eye beholds that externally which the mental eye beholds internally, so that to the broad light of day the whole transaction is clear and open; WHETHER, IN SHORT, IT BE THE IDENTICAL BODY, WHICH WAS BORN FROM MARY AND SUFFERED AND DIED AND WAS BURIED, AND WHICH RISING AGAIN AND ASCENDING TO HEAVEN SITS AT THE RIGHT HAND OF THE FATHER.

Of these two questions, let us begin with inspecting the first: and, lest we should be detained by the windings of dubiety, let us set out with explicitly defining, what is FIGURE, and what is REALITY.

FIGURE, then, is a certain adumbration, shewing its import under certain coverings. Thus, for instance, when, in the Lord's prayer, we beg for our daily bread; or when Christ, in the Gospel, says, *I am the living bread which descended from heaven; or when he calls himself the vine, and his disciples the branches: all these expressions say one thing, but mean another.*

REALITY, on the contrary, is the demonstration of a thing manifest, veiled in no images of shadows, but expressed in plain and open and natural significance: as when we say, that Christ was born from the Virgin, that he suffered, that he was crucified, that he died, and that he was buried. For nothing is here shadowed out under the veil of figures: but the reality of the matter is shewn forth in the plain signification of natural words; nor can we here understand any thing beyond what is absolutely spoken.

In the former instances, however, it was not so: for, substantially, Christ is neither bread nor a vine, nor yet are the Apostles branches¹. Wherefore, here, there is FIGURE: but, there, REALITY; that is to say, Reality, as importing the naked and open

¹ The reader will not fail to remark, that Bertram, precisely after the manner of Theodoret and other ancient theologians, considers all these expressions as *homogeneous*: whence, of course, he pronounces them to be all equally *figurative*. It may be proper to observe, that, in giving a figurative interpretation of the bread mentioned in the Lord's prayer, Bertram only follows a favourite practice of the ancients. See Cyprian. de Orat. Domin. Oper. vol. i. p. 146, 147.

signification of any thing, is shewn forth in the relation.

Let us now return to those matters, for the sake of which these definitions have been laid down: I mean the body and blood of Christ.

If that mystery be not celebrated under a FIGURE, it cannot rightly be called a mystery: because the name of mystery cannot justly be applied to that, in which there is nothing hidden, nothing remote from the bodily senses, nothing hidden by a veil. But that bread, which, through the ministration of the priest, is made the body of Christ, shews one thing externally to the human senses, and speaks another thing internally to the minds of the faithful—The wine also, which, through sacerdotal consecration, is made the sacrament of the blood of Christ, shews one thing superficially, but contains another thing internally—Since, then, no person can deny that such is the case, it is manifest, that that bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ FIGURATIVELY—For, if, as some pretend, nothing is here received FIGURATIVELY, but the whole is discerned in REALITY: then there is no room for the operation of faith; inasmuch as nothing spiritual is transacted, but the whole is received according to the body—According to the appearance of the creature and the form of things visible, neither the bread nor the wine experience in themselves any transmutation. Therefore, if they have experienced no transmutation, they are nothing else than what they were before—

Let us now pass to the second question, and let us consider: WHETHER THE IDENTICAL BODY, WHICH WAS BORN FROM MARY AND SUFFERED AND DIED AND WAS BURIED, AND WHICH NOW SITS AT THE RIGHT HAND OF THE FATHER, IS THAT, WHICH IN THE CHURCH IS DAILY RECEIVED BY THE MOUTH OF THE FAITHFUL THROUGH THE MYSTERY OF THE SACRAMENTS—

According to the SUBSTANCE of the creatures, what they were before consecration, that also they are after it. Previous to consecration, they were bread and wine: and, in that same appearance, when consecrated, they are seen still to remain—Nothing is here transacted corporeally: but it must be spiritually apprehended. It is the body of Christ, but not corporeally: it is the blood of Christ, yet not corporeally—The body, which Christ received from the Virgin Mary, which suffered, which was buried, which rose again, was a REAL body; the same which remained visible and palpable: but the body, which is called the mystery of God, is not corporeal, but SPIRITUAL—Spiritual flesh which is received by the mouth of the faithful, and spiritual blood which is daily given to be drank by the faithful, differ from the flesh which was crucified and from the blood which was shed by the lance of the soldier. THEREFORE THEY ARE NOT THE SAME—

In the prayers, which are recited after the mysteries of the blood and body of Christ, the priest uses the following language.

Receiving the PLEDGE of eternal life, we humbly beseech thee, that, whatsoever of the sacrament

we touch in the IMAGE, we may receive the same by manifest participation.

Now a PLEDGE and an IMAGE are a pledge and an image of some other thing: that is, they have respect, not to themselves, but to something else. For a PLEDGE is a pledge of the thing, for which it is given: and an IMAGE is an image of that, whereof it shews forth the similitude—Therefore also that, which the Church celebrates, is the body and blood of Christ: but still, as a PLEDGE; but still, as an IMAGE—

We see, then, that the mystery of the blood and body of Christ, which is now received in the Church by the faithful, is separated, by a mighty difference, from that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which suffered, which was buried, which rose again, which ascended to heaven, which sits at the right hand of the Father¹.

¹ Quod in Ecclesia ore fidelium sumitur corpus et sanguis Christi, quærit vestræ magnitudinis excellentia, in mysterio fiat, an in veritate. Id est: *Utrum aliquid secreti contineat, quod oculis fidei solummodo pateat: An, sine cujuscunque velatione mysterii, hoc aspectus intueatur corporis exterioris, quod mentis visus inspiciat interioris, ut totum, quod agitur, in manifestationis luce clarescat; et UTRUM IPSUM CORPUS SIT, QUOD DE MARIA NATUM EST ET PASSUM, MORTUUM ET SEPULTUM, QUODQUE RESURGENS ET CÆLOS ASCENDENS AD DEXTERAM PATRIS CONSIDEAT.*

Harum duarum quæstionum primam inspiciamus: et, ne dubietatis ambage detineamur, definiamus, quid sit FIGURA, quid VERITAS; ut, certum aliquid contuentes, noverimus quo rationis iter contendere debeamus.

For this his view of the subject, the excellent and admirable Bertram cites, throughout his whole

FIGURA est adumbratio quædam, quibusdam velaminibus quod intendit ostendens. Verbi gratia, verbum volentes dicere, *panem* nuncupamus. Sicut, in oratione dominica, panem quotidianum dari nobis expostulamus; vel cum Christus in evangelio loquitur, dicens, *Ego sum panis vivus qui de cælo descendi*; vel cum seipsum *vitem*, discipulos autem *palmites*, appellat, *Ego sum*, dicens, *vitis vera, vos autem palmites*: hæc enim omnia aliud dicunt, et aliud innuunt.

VERITAS, vero, est rei manifestæ demonstratio, nullis umbrarum imaginibus obvelatæ, sed puris et apertis (utque planiùs eloquamur) naturalibus significationibus insinuatæ: utpote cum dicitur, Christus natus de Virgine, passus, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus. Nihil enim hic *figuris* obvelantibus adumbratur; verum rei *veritas*, naturalium significationibus verborum, ostenditur: neque aliud hic licet intelligi, quàm dicitur.

At, in superioribus, non ita. Nam, substantialiter, nec panis Christus, nec vitis Christus, nec palmites Apostoli. Quapropter, hic, FIGURA: superiori vero VERITAS in narratione monstratur; id est, nuda et aperta significatio.

Nunc redeamus ad illa, quorum causa dicta sunt ista; videlicet, corpus et sanguinem Christi.

Si enim nulla sub FIGURA mysterium illud peragitur, jam mysterium non rite vocitatur: quum mysterium dici non potest, in quo nihil est abditum, nihil a corporalibus sensibus remotum, nihil aliquo velamine contactum. At ille panis, quod per sacerdotis ministerium Christi corpus efficitur, aliud interiùs (lege, *exteriùs*) humanis sensibus ostendit, et aliud interiùs fidelium mentibus clamat—Vinum quoque, quod sacerdotali consecratione Christi sanguinis efficitur sacramentum, aliud superficie tenus ostendit, aliud interiùs continet—Hæc ita esse, dum nemo potest abnegare, claret, quia panis ille vinumque FIGURATE Christi corpus et sanguis existit—Nam,

Treatise, those two great luminaries of the Western Church, Ambrose and Augustine. Every

si, secundum quosdam, FIGURATE nihil hic accipiatur, sed totum in VERITATE conspiciatur; nihil hic fides operatur: quum nihil spirituale geritur; sed, quicquid illud est, totum secundum corpus accipitur—Secundum speciem namque creaturæ formamque rerum visibilium, utrumque hoc, id est, panis et vinum, nihil habent in se permutatum. Et, si nihil permutationis pertulerunt, nihil aliud existunt quàm quod priùs fuere—

Jam nunc secundæ quæstionis propositum est inspiciendum, et videndum: UTRUM IPSUM CORPUS, QUOD DE MARIA NATUM EST ET PASSUM, MORTUUM ET SEPULTUM, QUODQUE AD DEXTERAM PATRIS CONSIDeat, SIT QUOD ORE FIDELIUM PER SACRAMENTORUM MYSTERIUM IN ECCLESIA QUOTIDIE SUMITUR—

Secundum creaturarum SUBSTANTIAM, quod fuerunt ante consecrationem, hoc et postea consistunt. Panis et vinum priùs extitere: in qua etiam specie, jam consecrata, permanere videntur—Nihil igitur hic corporaliter; sed spiritualiter sentiendum. Corpus Christi est, sed non corporaliter: et sanguis Christi est, sed non corporaliter—Corpus, quod sumpsit de Maria Virgine, quod passum, quod sepultum est, quod resurrexit, corpus utique VERUM fuit; idem, quod visibile atque palpabile manebat: at vero corpus, quod mysterium Dei dicitur, non est corporale sed SPIRITUALE—Differunt, autem, caro spiritualis quæ fidelium ore sumitur, et sanguis spiritualis qui quotidie credentibus potandus exhibetur, a carne quæ crucifixæ est, et a sanguine qui militis effusus est lancea. NON IDEM IGITUR SUNT—

In orationibus, quæ post mysterium sanguinis corporisque Christi dicuntur, et a populo respondetur *Amen*, sic sacerdotis voce dicitur.

PIGNUS æternæ vitæ capientes, humiliter imploramus, ut, quod IMAGINE contingimus sacramenti, manifesta participatione sumamus.

where, he strengthens himself by their early authority; on the rational principle, that *doctrinal*

Et PIGNUS enim et IMAGO alterius rei sunt : id est, non ad se, sed ad aliud, aspiciunt. PIGNUS enim illius rei est, pro qua donatur : IMAGO illius, cujus similitudinem ostendit—Qua de re et corpus Christi et sanguis est, quod Ecclesia celebrat : sed tanquam PIGNUS, tanquam IMAGO—

Videmus, itaque, multa differentia separari, mysterium sanguinis et corporis Christi quod nunc a fidelibus sumitur in Ecclesia, et illud quod natum est de Virgine Maria, quod passum, quod sepultum, quod resurrexit, quod coelos ascendit, quod ad dexteram Patris sedet. Bertram. Presbyt. de corp. et sanguin. Domin. p. 180—222. Colon. 1551.

The Work is addressed to the Emperor Charles the Bald : but the Cologne editor erroneously exhibits it, as addressed to the Emperor Charlemagne.

I. Nothing can be more beautiful and more satisfactory than Bertram's overwhelming argument from the very nature of a mystery or sacrament.

Unless, says he, the mystery be transacted under a FIGURE ; that is, unless the body and blood of Christ be only FIGURATIVELY present : the mystery could not, without a gross abuse of language, be called a mystery.

In truth, the novel phantasy of Transubstantiation destroys the very nature and character of a sacrament : for, in a sacrament, as the word was always understood in the Church, there is an outward visible sign representing or symbolically shadowing forth an inward spiritual grace : but, according to the doctrine of the Transubstantialists, let them labour to disguise the matter as they may, the mystery of the Eucharist is a sacrament without any outward visible sign ; because the elements, having by the theory been transubstantiated, have ceased to be what Bertram calls a FIGURE, and have become what he contradistinctively styles a REALITY. Now this,

truth must needs be older than doctrinal falsehood: and I note, with no small satisfaction, that he adduces the very passages which I have adduced, and that he understands them precisely as any man of plain common sense *must* understand them¹.

as he well argues, is plainly inconsistent with the very notion of a mystery or sacrament.

II. There is yet another matter, to which the inquirer may profitably direct his attention.

The second Council of Nice, in the year 787, with equal ignorance and folly, had proscribed and anathematised the word *IMAGE* as employed to describe the nature of the consecrated elements, on the strange blundering plea that it had been so employed by no one of the ancients.

Yet, as we learn from Bertram, this identical word *IMAGE* actually continued, about the year 860, still to be used in the old post-communion prayer of the Latin Church. The circumstance, in short, was so familiar, as of course it *must* have been where a public Liturgy was concerned, that he absolutely employs it in the way of a clear and decisive argument *against* the novelty of Transubstantiation.

¹ With the now adduced mass of evidence staring him in the face, for I can scarcely believe him to have been ignorant of its existence, Bossuet actually asserts, as a decisive argument in favour of the apostolicity of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, that, both in the East and in the West, it was unanimously adopted from the words of our Lord, without experiencing the least opposition: and he adds, that those, who believed it, were never marked by the Church as innovators! *Hist. des Variat. livr. ii. § 36.*

If the inquirer be curious to know, how he rids himself of such controversies as those between Paschase and Bertram, let him learn, that, in the summary decision of the Bishop of Meaux, these two champions with their respective followers

V. The retention of a descriptive word through long custom or habit, when that word is evidently

were all alike staunch Transubstantialists, though they un- luckily differed as to the best mode of expressing their favourite doctrine.

Catholic doctors, he gravely tells us, *agree at the bottom and dispute only about the manner. C' est ainsi, que les docteurs catholiques, d'accord dans le fonds, disputoient des manières.* Hist. des Variat. livr. iv. § 32.

Truly Raban and Bertram adopted a most original method of explaining the doctrine of Transubstantiation, when they clearly established it through the unexpected medium of denying any change in the substance of the consecrated elements.

If the difference consisted only in *the mode of expression*, as the jesuitism of Bossuet would persuade us, why did the infallible Tridentine Fathers place the Work of our zealous *Transubstantialist* Bertram in their list of prohibited books, while no such black mark was set upon the Work of the *equally zealous Transubstantialist* Paschase?

Bossuet, I suppose, would tell us, that they preferred the mode of Paschase to the mode of Bertram.

In that case, why did these simulated sticklers for antiquity prefer the *newer* mode of expression to the *older* mode: for, that the mode of Paschase was the innovation, is indisputable, both from the express testimony of Raban and from the whole tenor of the controversy?

I have perused the entire Work of Bertram: and therefore I can fearlessly assert, that it affords not even the slightest warrant for the evasion of Bossuet. In truth, his gloss can be viewed only, as a brilliant exemplification of the Duacensic System of the *Excogitato commento persæpe negemus et commodum sensum eis affingamus*. In this wholesome practice, some modern romish theologians, whom I could mention, may well be said to emulate even Bossuet himself and the whole College of Douay Doctors to boot.

incongruous with a theological system now prevalent, both indicates the comparative novelty of such theological system, and aids us in the ascertaining of the more ancient theological system which it has supplanted.

1. Of this description is the word UNBLOODY, as applied to what the Romanists call the sacrifice of the Mass.

*In that sacrifice which is celebrated in the Mass, say the Fathers of the Council of Trent, the self-same Christ is contained and is UNBLOODILY immolated, who once upon the altar of the cross offered himself bloodily*¹.

Now such language is *palpably inconsistent* with the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

If the substance of the wine, as the same Tridentine Fathers assure us, be changed, through the prayer of consecration, into the substance of Christ's blood; and if, in the sacrifice of the Mass, the self-same Christ be immolated who offered himself as a piacular oblation upon the altar of the cross: it is clear, that the sacrifice of the Mass, according to the latin notions of it, is *not* an UNBLOODY sacrifice; for, by the hypothesis, the wine having been transubstantiated into literal material blood, most undoubtedly, by the same

¹ In divino hoc sacrificio, quod in Missa peragitur, idem ille Christus continetur, et INCRUENTE immolatur, qui in ara crucis semel seipsum cruenta obtulit. Concil. Trident. sess. xxii. c. 2. p. 239.

hypothesis, literal material blood cannot but form a part of the sacrifice.

Hence we gather, in strict conformity with the evidence already adduced, that the doctrine of Transubstantiation is a self-convicted novelty : and hence we collect, that the phraseology, still through long custom retained when it has ceased to be appropriate, manifestly indicates the prevalence of a totally different scheme of doctrine when such phraseology was originally adopted.

In an earlier stage of the present discussion, I have stated : that the ONLY sacrifice and oblation, recognised in the Eucharist by the primitive Church, were, *the spiritual sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving*, and *the material oblation of the bread and wine upon the Lord's table under the aspect of an offering of the first-fruits of God's creatures anterior to and in order to their consecration*¹. If there be any evidence, that the Christians of the first ages considered the elements of bread and wine as a sacrifice *after* their consecration ; which notion is plainly essential to, though (as we shall soon find) not *exclusively* inherent in, the latin doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass : I can only say, that I have unintentionally, not dishonestly, overlooked it. Certain it is, that neither Mr. Berington nor the Bishop of Strasbourg has brought forward any testimony to *this* effect : and, as I have no particular reason to doubt *their*

¹ See above, book i. chap. 4. §. iii. 1. (3.) iv. 2.

diligence ; so, with respect to *myself*, I am not aware that any such testimony is in existence¹.

It is obvious, that sacrifices of the description recognised by the primitive Church were *truly* and *properly* UNBLOODY sacrifices. Accordingly, while Clement of Alexandria, like Justin Martyr, tells us, that perpetual prayers and praises and

¹ Dr. Trevern and Mr. Berington allege our protestant Dr. Grabe, as stating, on the authority of Irenèus, that all the contemporaries of the Apostles or their immediate successors, whose writings are still extant, considered the blessed Eucharist to be the sacrifice of the New Law, and thence offered bread and wine on the altar as sacred oblations to God the Father. Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 77, 78. Faith of Cathol. p. 256.

Grabe spoke very truly, though not in the sense which our two latin divines are pleased to impose upon him. His very author Irenèus, whom he edited and upon whom his statement is in fact an annotation, sufficiently explains the doctrine of the primitive Christians, which resembled any thing rather than that of the modern Romanists.

The earliest believers held the prayers and praises, which accompanied the celebration of the Lord's Supper, to be, as indeed the very name *Eucharist* imports, a *spiritual* sacrifice of thanksgiving : and they held the presentation of bread and wine upon the table, *before* and *in order to* their consecration, to be a *material* oblation of the first fruits of God's creatures.

No other sacrifice, except these, did the primitive Christians of the age of Justin and Irenèus acknowledge in the sacrament of the Eucharist : and to no other sacrifice, except these, does Dr. Grabe refer. The notion, that the *consecrated* elements were *themselves* an unbloody commemorative and symbolical sacrifice, was much later than the age of Justin and Irenèus. Accordingly, in *their* writings, no such notion can be discovered.

hymns and thanksgivings are the Christian's true sacrifice to God¹: Eusebius denominates the prayers of believers *the unbloody and reasonable sacrifice*²; Hilary remarks, that we, upon whom the consummation of ages is come, sacrifice indeed to God, but *not with blood* and holocausts³; and Chrysostom, speaking of the sacrifices offered up by Christians, observes, that *they no longer offered up blood*, but that their service was a reasonable service, even the worship of God in spirit and in truth⁴.

¹ Θυσίαι μὲν αὐτῶ, εὐχαί τε καὶ αἶνοι. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vii. Oper. p. 728. Εὐχαὶ καὶ εὐχαριστίαι, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀξίων γινόμεναι, τέλειαι μόναι καὶ εὐάρεστοί εἰσι τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαι. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 270.

² Τὰς ἀναίμους καὶ λογικὰς θυσίας τὰς δι' εὐχῶν. Euseb. de laud. Constant. Orat. p. 659. Τὰ σεμνὰ τῆς Χριστοῦ τραπέζης θύματα, δι' ὧν καλλιερῶντες, τὰς ἀναίμους καὶ λογικὰς αὐτῶ τε προσηνεῖς θυσίας, διὰ παντὸς βίου, τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων προσφέρειν Θεῷ, διὰ τοῦ πάντων ἀνωτάτῳ ἀρχιερέως αὐτοῦ, δεδιδάγμεθα. Euseb. Demons. Evan. lib. i. c. 8. p. 27. Ταύτας δὲ πάλιν τὰς ἀσωμάτους καὶ νοεράς θυσίας τὰ προφητικὰ κηρύττει λόγια, ὧδέ πη περιέχοντα· Θῦσον τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνέσεως. Ibid. p. 27. Ita etiam, Θυσίαις ἀναίμοις, in Euseb. de vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. 45.

³ Non enim sanguine et holocaustis nos, in quos consummatio sæculorum devenit, sacrificamus Deo: sed, quod sacrificium vespertinum placitum sit, audiamus Dominum—In hoc, manus elevandæ sunt: quia, istiusmodi orationibus jam ab initio mundi benedictis Dei, regni cœlestis præparata possessio est. Hilar. Comment. in Psalm. cxl. Oper. p. 330.

⁴ Τοιαύτας ἀναφέρομεν θυσίας τὰς ἐν ἐκείνῃ δυναμένας προσφέρεισθαι τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, οὐκ ἔτι πρόβαρα καὶ βόας, οὐκ ἔτι αἷμα καὶ κνίσσαν. Πάντα ταῦτα λέλυται, καὶ ἀντεισηνήκεται ἀντὶ τούτων ἡ λογικὴ λατρεία—"Οσφ γὰρ προβάτου κρείττων ὁ ἄνθρω-

As time, however, rolled on, though the old ideas still remained in full force, the notion of a sacrifice began to be extended, not only to the material oblation of the elements *before* consecration, but also the setting forth of the same elements *after* consecration. Yet still the thought of any transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the literal or material body and blood of Christ most assuredly, as we may learn from their own language, never once occurred to those speculatists.

Their doctrine was: that, *Since the sacrament of the Eucharist was at once symbolical and commemorative of the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, and since the sacrifices under the Law were at once symbolical and predictive of the same sacrifice of Christ upon the cross; the consecrated bread and wine might, by the fair rule of analogy, be, in some sort, themselves likewise deemed a sacrifice, even the symbolical sacrifice of commemoration.*

Under this aspect, then, as they had been accustomed to call the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving *an* UNBLOODY *sacrifice*; and as they were wont similarly to designate the material oblation of bread and wine which was made antecedently to the prayer of consecration: so they readily and appropriately applied the same appellation to the consecrated bread and wine, when the sacrament of the Eucharist began to be esteemed a symbolical and commemorative sacrifice.

πος, τοσούτω αὐτῇ ἐκείνης ἡ θυσία. Chrysost. Homil. xi. in Heb. vi.

In the doctrine itself, I know not that there is any particular harm or absurdity : but the very mode in which they explained it, and the very epithet of UNBLOODY which they transferred to the newly esteemed sacrifice, alike demonstrate, that they knew nothing of the dogma of Transubstantiation. The alleged sacrifice of the consecrated elements they deemed symbolical and commemorative : and, as of course no BLOOD was shed in a sacrifice thus characterised, they justly and accurately called it *an UNBLOODY sacrifice*. Thus did the doctrine and the epithet strictly harmonise. The sacrifice was UNBLOODY : because it was not a *literal* piacular sacrifice, but only a *figurative* sacrifice professedly *symbolical* and *commemorative* of the one great *literal* piacular sacrifice of Christ upon the cross.

2. This speculation certainly became *fashionable* in the course of the fourth century. Hence, probably, it *originated* somewhat earlier. Be this, however, as it may, in the course of the fourth and fifth ages, we distinctly observe the speculation in question : but then we observe it in the form already specified ; a form, evidently fatal to the modern phantasy of Transubstantiation.

(1.) Let us first hear Cyril of Jerusalem.

We beseech the philanthropic Deity to send the Holy Spirit upon the offered elements, that he may make the bread to be the body of Christ and the wine to be the blood of Christ : for, whatsoever the Holy Spirit shall have touched, that thing is sancti-

*fied and changed. Then, after having completed the spiritual sacrifice, even the UNBLOODY service over the sacrifice of propitiation, we beseech God on behalf of the common peace of the Churches—But we offer up Christ, who was sacrificed for our sins; propitiating the philanthropic Deity*¹.

(2.) Let us next hear Gregory of Nazianzum.

*Julian unhallows his hands, desecrating them from the UNBLOODY sacrifice, through which in Christ we communicate both with his sufferings and with his divinity*².

(3.) Let us next hear Cyril of Alexandria.

*We offer, in the Churches, an UNBLOODY sacrifice;—a matter become, as it were, the proper body and blood of the all-vivifying Word*³.

¹ Παρακαλῶμεν τὸν φιλόανθρωπον Θεόν, τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἕξαποστεῖλαι ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα, ἵνα ποιήσῃ, τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα Χριστοῦ, τὸν δὲ οἶνον αἷμα Χριστοῦ· πάντως γὰρ, οὐ εἰάν ἐφάψαιτο τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, τοῦτο ἡγιάσται καὶ μεταβέβληται. Εἶτα, μετὰ τὸ ἀπαρισθῆναι τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν, τὴν ἌΝΑΙΜΑΚΤΟΝ λατρείαν ἐπὶ τῆς θυσίας ἐκείνης τοῦ ἰλασμοῦ, παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν Θεὸν ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης.—Ἄλλα Χριστὸν, ἐσφαγισμένον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων, προσφέρομεν· ἐξιλοούμενοι, ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ ἡμῶν, τὸν φιλόανθρωπον. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. Myst. v. p. 241, 242.

² Τὰς χεῖρας ἀφαγνίζεται, τῆς ἌΝΑΙΜΑΚΤΟΥ θυσίας ἀποκαθαίρων, δι' ἧς ἡμεῖς Χριστῷ κοινωνοῦμεν, καὶ τῶν παθημάτων, καὶ τῆς θεότητος. Gregor. Nazian. Orat. iii. Oper. vol. i. p. 70.

³ ἌΝΑΙΜΑΚΤΟΝ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τελούμεν θυσίαν,—ὡς ἴδιον σῶμα γεγονὸς καὶ μέντοι καὶ αἷμα τοῦ πάντα ζωογονοῦντος Λόγου. Cyril. Alex. Declar. Anathem. xi. Oper. vol. vi. p. 156.

(4.) Let us next hear Ambrose of Milan.

We now see good things through the IMAGE : and we possess the good things of the IMAGE. We have seen the Prince of priests coming to us : we have seen and we have heard him offering for us his own blood. So far as we are able, let us priests follow him, that we may offer sacrifice for the people. Weak, indeed, we are in merit ; nevertheless, through sacrifice, we are honourable : for, if Christ does not now seem to offer personally, yet he himself is offered upon earth when the body of Christ is offered. Nay, he himself is manifested in us for the purpose of offering, inasmuch as his word sanctifies the offered sacrifice. And he himself, indeed, stands our advocate with the Father : but now we see him not. Then, however, we shall see him, when the IMAGE shall have passed away, and when the REALITY shall have come—Ascend, therefore, O man, to heaven : and thou shalt see those things, of which here there was only the SHADOW or IMAGE—Thou shalt see the perfect man, now no longer in IMAGE but in REALITY¹.

¹ Videmus nunc per IMAGINEM bona : et tenemus IMAGINIS bona. Vidimus Principem sacerdotum ad nos venientem : vidimus et audivimus offerentem pro nobis sanguinem suum. Sequamur, ut possumus, sacerdotes, ut offeramus pro populo sacrificium. Etsi infirmi merito, tamen honorabiles sacrificio : quia, etsi nunc Christus non videtur offerre : tamen ipse offertur in terris, quando Christi corpus offertur. Imo ipse offerre manifestatur in nobis, cujus sermo sanctificat sacrificium quod offertur. Et ipse quidem nobis apud Patrem advocatus adsistit : sed nunc eum non videmus. Tunc videbimus, cum IMAGO

(5.) Let us next hear Augustine.

Christ is our priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek, who offered himself as a holocaust for our sins: and he commanded, that the SIMILITUDE of his sacrifice should be celebrated in MEMORY of his passion; in order that that, which Melchisedek offered unto God, should now seem to be offered by us in the Church of Christ throughout the whole world¹.

Let us sacrifice to the God of the martyrs:—but, whatsoever is offered, is offered unto God—The flesh and blood of this sacrifice was promised, before the coming of Christ, through the victims its SIMILITUDE: in the passion of Christ, it was given through very REALITY: after the ascent of Christ, it is celebrated through the sacrament of COMMEMORATION².

Was not Christ once sacrificed in himself? And

transierit, VERITAS venerit—Ascende ergo, homo, in cœlum: et videbis illa, quorum UMBRA hic erat vel IMAGO—Videbis perfectum hominem, jam non in IMAGINE, sed in VERITATE. Ambros. Enarr. in Psalm. xxxviii. Oper. col. 1345.

¹ Ipse est etiam sacerdos noster in æternum secundum ordinem Melchisedec, qui seipsum obtulit holocaustum pro peccatis nostris: et ejus sacrificii SIMILITUDINEM celebrandam, in suæ passionis MEMORIAM, commendavit; ut illud, quod Melchisedec obtulit Deo, jam per totum orbem terrarum in Christi Ecclesia videamus offerri. August. lxxxiii. Quæst. quæst. 61. Oper. vol. iv. p. 216.

² Ipsi Deo martyrum sacrificemus:—sed, quod offertur, offertur Deo—Hujus sacrificii caro et sanguis, ante adventum Christi, per victimas SIMILITUDINEM, promittebatur: in passione Christi, per ipsam VERITATEM, reddebatur: post ascensum Christi, per sacramentum MEMORIÆ, celebratur. August. cont. Faust. Manich. lib. xx. c. 21. Oper. vol. vi. p. 137.

yet, in the sacrament, not only through all the solemnities of Easter, but even every day, he is sacrificed for the people. Neither does that man speak falsely, who, when the question is put to him, shall answer: that Christ is thus sacrificed. For, unless the sacraments had a certain SIMILITUDE to those things whereof they are sacraments, they would not be sacraments. But, from the SIMILITUDE, they commonly receive the names of the THINGS THEMSELVES. Therefore, as the sacrament of the body of Christ is, after a certain manner, the body of Christ; and as the sacrament of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ: so the sacrament of faith is faith¹.

¹ Nonne semel immolatus est Christus, *in seipso*? Et tamen, *in sacramento*, non solum per omnes Paschæ solennitates, sed omni die, populis immolatur. Nec utique mentitur, qui, interrogatus, eum responderit immolari. Si enim sacramenta quandam SIMILITUDINEM earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent; sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem SIMILITUDINE, plerumque etiam IPSARUM RERUM nomina accipiunt. Sicut, ergo, secundum quendam modum, sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est: ita sacramentum fidei fides est. August. Epist. ad Bonifac. xxiii.

By the sacrament of faith, Augustine means the sacrament of Baptism. He treats, we see, of the two sacraments, on the principle of exact homogeneity. Each has a *similitude*, and each has a *reality* shadowed out by that *similitude*. The bread and wine, in the one sacrament, according to this luminous statement of Augustine, are no more transubstantiated into the material body and blood of Christ; than the water, in the other sacrament, is transubstantiated into the literal grace of regenerative faith. In each case alike, the several elements are respectively the appointed *similitudes* of their

3. The same opinion, that *the setting forth of the consecrated elements is to be viewed as a symbolical and commemorative and therefore unbloody sacrifice*, was still maintained, in the ninth century, by that decided antitransubstantialist Bertram of Corby.

Augustine says, we perceive, that sacraments are one matter, and that the things whereof they are sacraments are another matter. Now, the body in which Christ suffered, and the blood which flowed from his side, are certain things. But the mysteries of these things he pronounces to be the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ, which are celebrated in MEMORY of the Lord's passion, not only at the annual festival of Easter, but likewise every day in the year. And, though the body of the Lord, in which he suffered, be one; and though the blood, which was shed for the salvation of the world, be also one: yet the sacraments have taken the names of the THINGS THEMSELVES, so that they should be called the body and blood of Christ; inasmuch as they are thus denominated, on account of their SIMILITUDE to the things which they signify; just as our yearly solemnities are called the crucifixion and resurrection of the Lord, though IN HIMSELF he once only suffered and rose again, nor can those days which are past be now recalled. But the days, on which we COMMEMORATE the Lord's passion or resur-

corresponding realities. Without such resemblance, as Augustine observes, the sacraments would be no sacraments.

rection, are called by the names of those events: because they bear a certain SIMILITUDE to those days, in which the Saviour once suffered and rose again. Hence we say, that today or tomorrow or the next day is the crucifixion or resurrection of the Lord: notwithstanding that those days, in which these matters really occurred, have passed away many years ago. On the same principle, then, we may also say, that the Lord is sacrificed whensoever the sacraments of his passion are celebrated: though, IN HIMSELF, as the Apostle teaches us, he was, for the salvation of the world, only once sacrificed. Christ, says he, suffered for us, leaving you an example, that ye should follow his steps. He tells us, not that Christ daily suffered IN HIMSELF for us, but that he did so only once. He left us, however, an exemplar, which, in the mystery of the Lord's body and blood, is daily REPRESENTED to the faithful: in order that, whosoever shall approach it, that person may know, that he ought to communicate with those sufferings of Christ whereof he exhibits the IMAGE in the sacred mysteries—What the Lord did once, is now daily repeated. For he once offered HIMSELF for the sins of the people. Wherefore this same oblation is daily celebrated by the faithful: but then it is celebrated IN A MYSTERY; that, what the Lord Jesus Christ accomplished once offering HIMSELF, this, in MEMORY of his passion, should, through the celebration of the mysteries, be daily transacted. Nor yet is it falsely said, that, in those mysteries, the Lord either is immolated or suffers: since they

have a SIMILITUDE of that his death and passion, whereof they are the REPRESENTATIONS. Hence they are called the Lord's body and blood: inasmuch as they take the name of that, of which they are the sacrament. Accordingly, the blessed Isidore says: It is called a sacrifice, as if made holy; because by mystic prayer it is consecrated in MEMORY of the Lord's passion¹.

¹ Cernimus, quod S. Augustinus aliud dicit sacramenta, et aliud res quarum sunt sacramenta. Corpus autem in quo passus est Christus, et sanguis ejus de latere qui fluxit, res sunt. Harum vero rerum mysteria dicit esse sacramenta corporis et sanguinis Christi, quæ celebrantur ob MEMORIAM dominicæ passionis, non solum per omnes Paschæ solennitates singulis annis, verum singulis in anno diebus. Et, cum unum sit corpus dominicum in quo semel passus est, et unus sanguis qui pro salute mundi fusus est: attamen sacramenta IPSARUM RERUM vocabula sumpserunt, ut dicantur *corpus et sanguis Christi*; cum, propter SIMILITUDINEM rerum quas innuunt, sic appellentur; sicut *pascha* et *resurrectio Domini* vocantur, quæ per singulos annos celebrantur, cum semel IN SEIPSO passus sit et resurrexerit, nec dies illi jam possunt revocari, quoniam præterierunt. Appellantur autem illorum vocabulo dies, quibus MEMORIA dominicæ passionis sive resurrectionis commemoratur: idcirco quia SIMILITUDINEM illorum habeant dierum, quibus Salvator semel passus est et resurrexit. Unde dicimus, *hodie vel cras vel perendie Domini pascha est vel resurrectio*: cum dies illi, quibus hæc gesta sunt, multis jam annis præterierunt. Sic etiam dicamus, *Dominum immolari*, quando passionis ejus sacramenta celebrantur: cum semel, pro salute mundi, sit immolatus IN SEMETIPSO: sicut Apostolus ait: *Christus passus est pro nobis, vobis relinquens exemplum, ut sequamini vestigia ejus*. Non enim ait, quod quotidie IN SEIPSO patiat, quod semel fecit. Exemplum autem nobis reliquit,

4. It is worthy of our especial observation, that the doctrine, propounded by the divines of the fourth and fifth centuries, and adopted by Bertram in the ninth century; namely, that *the con-*

quod, in mysterio dominici corporis et sanguinis, quotidie creditibus PRÆSENTATUR: ut, quisquis ad illud accesserit, noverit se passionibus ejus sociari debere, quarum IMAGINEM in sacris mysteriis præstolatur—Quod semel fecit, nunc quotidie frequentatur. Semel enim, pro peccatis populi, SE obtulit. Celebratur tum hæc eadem oblatio singulis per fideles diebus: sed IN MYSTERIO: ut, quod Dominus Jesus Christus semel SE offerens adimplevit, hoc in ejus passionis MEMORIAM quotidie geratur per mysteriorum celebrationem. Nec tamen falso dicitur, quod, *in mysteriis illis, Dominus vel immoletur vel patiatur*: quoniam illius mortis atque passionis habent SIMILITUDINEM, quarum existunt REPRESENTATIONES. Unde *dominicum corpus* et *sanguis dominicus* appellantur: quum ejus sumunt appellationem, cujus existunt sacramentum. Hinc beatus Isidorus, in libris Etymologiarum, sic ait: *Sacrificium dictum, quasi sacrum factum; quia prece mystica consecratur, in MEMORIAM dominicæ passionis.* Bertram. de corp. et sang. dom. p. 197—200.

Isidore Hispalensis flourished in the seventh century. Bertram has fortunately preserved a remarkable passage in this old writer's Book on Etymologies, which the *emendatory* care of the Roman Priesthood (EMENDATUS *tolerari queat*, as the Douay divines speak) has carefully excluded from its proper place (Isid. Etymol. lib. vi. c. 19.) in the printed copies of his Works. I subjoin it, on the principle of gathering up the fragments that nothing may be lost. See Cosin. Histor. Transub. Papal. c. v. § 26. p. 85.

Sicut visibilis panis et vini SUBSTANTIA exteriorem nutrit et inebriat hominem: ita Verbum Dei, qui est panis vivus, participatione sui, fidelium recreat mentes. Isid. Hispal. Etymol. apud Bertram. de corp. et sang. dom. p. 200, 201.

secrated elements are an unbloody sacrifice, because they are the memorial and representation of the one only true sacrifice upon the cross; shewed itself, under the sanction of a great Latin theologian, even so late as the middle of the twelfth century: in other words, that doctrine shewed itself, only about some sixty or seventy years before the time, when the transubstantialising decree of the fourth Council of Lateran stamped, upon the word UNBLOODY, as then and since applied to the sacrifice of the Mass, the character of utter absurdity and hopeless incongruity.

In the year 1150, the famous Peter Lombard, commonly called *the Master of the Sentences*, was made Archbishop of Paris: and, in the year 1215, Pope Innocent III and his packed Conventicle (which is rated as the twelfth Ecumenical Council) first decreed by name the orthodoxy of the tenet of Transubstantiation.

Let us now hear this great theologian's resolution of a regularly propounded question.

Can that, which the priest transacts, be rightly called a sacrifice or immolation: and is Christ daily sacrificed, or was he only once sacrificed?

That, which is offered and consecrated by the priest, is called a sacrifice and oblation, because it is the MEMORIAL and REPRESENTATION of the true sacrifice and holy immolation accomplished upon the altar of the cross. And Christ died once upon the cross, and was there IN HIMSELF sacrificed: but he is daily sacrificed IN A SACRAMENT; because, in the

*sacrament, a COMMEMORATION is made of that which WAS DONE only once*¹.

5. The following, then, is the sum of the present branch of evidence.

When the sacrament of the Eucharist, about the end of the third or the commencement of the fourth century, began, analogically with the character of the prechristian levitical oblations, to be esteemed a symbolical and commemorative sacrifice: *that* alleged mere imitative and shadowy sacrifice was, consistently and accurately and in truth contradistinctively, styled UNBLOODY; for obviously, in *such* a sacrifice, *no blood* was either shed or present.

But, when, in the same sacrament, the substance of the bread and wine was, in defiance of all antiquity, determined to be materially changed into the substance of Christ's body and blood; and when, consequently, the celebration of the Eucharist was deemed a *literal* sacrifice of the *literal* body and blood of the Saviour: nothing

¹ Si, quod gerit sacerdos, proprie dicatur *sacrificium* vel *immolatio*: et si Christus quotidie immoletur, vel semel tantum immolatus sit?

Illud, quod offertur et consecratur a sacerdote, vocari *sacrificium* et *oblationem*, quia MEMORIA est et REPRESENTATIO veri sacrificii et sanctæ immolationis factæ in ara crucis. Et semel Christus mortuus est in cruce, ibique immolatus est IN SEMETIPSO: quotidie autem immolatur IN SACRAMENTO; quia in sacramento RECORDATIO fit illius, quod FACTUM EST semel. Pet. Lombard. Sentent. lib. iv. distinct. 12. apud Usser. de Success. p. 98.

could be more flagrantly absurd, than to *continue* to bestow the epithet of UNBLOODY upon what the innovating transubstantiative decree of the fourth Lateran Council had plainly metamorphosed into a BLOODY sacrifice.

Custom, however, not unfrequently prevails over fitness and propriety : and, through the oversight of innovators, ancient formulas, those grievous and provoking telltales, are not always made to square with new speculations. The old epithet UNBLOODY was carelessly retained, though the *reason* for its adoption had ceased¹. And thus the very retention of the epithet betrayed the innovation, while it evinced the prior existence of a more ancient and a very different scheme of doctrine.

VI. Bellarmine, I believe, was the first or one of the first, who adduced the ancient Christian Mysteries as an evidence for the primeval reception of the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

¹ So versed are the Roman Priesthood in the avowed tortuous Douay policy of the *Extenuemus, excusemus, excogitato commento persæpe negemus, et commodum sensum eis affingamus* ; that Dr. Trevern and his ingenious brethren will doubtless be able to shew, in the clearest possible manner : how *A sacrifice, in which literal substantial BLOOD is poured out from the chalice, may, nevertheless, be properly denominated an UNBLOODY sacrifice.* They have only, according to their wont, to affix a *commodious sense* to an old inappropriate epithet : and the business will be so completely done, that no one, save an obstinate Protestant, will ever dream of disputing the strict philological accuracy of the criticism.

The Eucharist, he argued, was one of the secrets of the Mysteries. But it could only have been made a secret on account of its involving the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Therefore, from the very beginning, the doctrine of Transubstantiation was a principal secret of the ancient Mysteries.

Thus notably reasoned Bellarmine: but Schelstrate, in his *Disciplina Arcani*, seems to have advanced a step even beyond the sufficiently adventurous Cardinal.

The wretched scantiness of any thing, which the most dexterous management could construe to resemble historical demonstration, in the ecclesiastical writings of the three first centuries, must inevitably strike every person who has paid the least attention to the subject.

This glaring want of *early* evidence (the *only* evidence, which, in historical research, can be deemed of any value) was naturally alleged, by the reformed Catholics, against those who still adhered to the innovations of the Church of Rome. The FACT *itself* was indisputable: and the question was, how its inconvenient stubbornness could best be managed. Here, with Bellarmine's speculation strapped upon his shoulders (meet burden for meet back), stepped in the ingenious Schelstrate; fully satisfied, that the somewhat late discovery of the learned Cardinal and his associates might now be turned to a specially good account.

The doctrine of Transubstantiation (thus com-

menced the syllogistic operations of Schelstrate, precisely where those of Bellarmine had terminated) *was a prime secret of the Mysteries: but the very essence of the Mysteries was studied concealment: therefore it is unreasonable to expect any proof of the aboriginal reception of the doctrine of Transubstantiation from the writings of the early Fathers.*

The Bishop of Strasbourg, as if unconscious of the singular modesty of the demand upon our credulity involved in the argument of Schelstrate; a demand to wit, that *we should believe the doctrine of Transubstantiation, WITHOUT ANY HISTORICAL PROOF, simply because Cardinal Bellarmine had been pleased to assure us, that, from the very first, it was a secret taught in the old Christian Mysteries:* the Bishop of Strasbourg, there being verily nothing new under the sun, has condescended, for the complete conviction of his sorely perplexed English Laic, to borrow this prepotent bolt from the armoury of his predecessor.

*We cannot, he assures us, fairly expect any very decisive testimony to the doctrine of Transubstantiation from the writings of the early Fathers: because, had they, by the arcane discipline, been allowed to express themselves clearly; such an improvident exposure would have been at once a palpable discovery and betrayal of the whole secret*¹.

¹ The passages, quoted by Dr. Trevern, for the purpose of shewing, to my utter confusion, that the primitive Church from the very beginning held the doctrine of Transubstantiation, are thus characterised by HIMSELF.

The distinct confession of Dr. Trevern, that the early Fathers were not *allowed to express them-*

These passages are, for the most part, taken, from writings published against the Jews and Pagans, or from homilies pronounced before the uninitiated. In such circumstances, the Fathers, NOT BEING ALLOWED TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES CLEARLY, considered the eucharistic bread and wine in their relation to the senses, and denominated them types, emblems, images, allegories, figures, and sacraments, WITHOUT ADDING THAT THESE VISIBLE APPEARANCES COVERED THE BODY AND BLOOD OF JESUS CHRIST : WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN AT ONCE DISCOVERING AND BETRAYING THE SECRET. ANSW. to the Diffic. of Roman. p. 263. See also Ibid. p. 231—236.

I. In matter of *fact*, let the *cause* be what it may, Dr. Trevern, we see, confesses, that, *in regard to the dogma of Transubstantiation, the Fathers DO NOT EXPRESS THEMSELVES CLEARLY* : and he adds, that *they perpetually denominated the consecrated elements types or emblems or images or allegories or figures or sacraments, WITHOUT ADDING THAT THESE VISIBLE APPEARANCES COVERED THE BODY AND BLOOD OF JESUS CHRIST.*

This is *his own* free confession : and yet he modestly requires us to believe, that the early Fathers assuredly held the doctrine of Transubstantiation ; because, forsooth, he and Schelstrate and Bellarmine are pleased to inform us, that that doctrine was taught in the Mysteries, and therefore that the Fathers could not speak out more plainly without betraying the secret which they were forbidden to do by the *Disciplina Arcani* !

Truly the Bishop makes no scanty draft upon the presumed credulity of his English Laic.

II. Let our Anglican Laity know, however, that Dr. Trevern is grossly inaccurate in the statement even of *his own* case.

He says, that the passages, in which the early Fathers denominate the consecrated elements *types* or *images* or *figures* or the like, without adding that these visible appearances cover

selves clearly, I readily accept. Whatever may have been the *reason* of the provoking taciturnity

the body and blood of Jesus Christ, occur (he cautiously inserts) *for the most part, in works exposed only to Jews or Pagans or uninitiated Catechumens.*

Well was it, that he inserted *for the most part*. By this management, he has provided for himself a back-door to escape withal, while the intended impression upon his reader from his *general* statement was left to produce its full effect.

1. Of the numerous specimens which I have given of the phraseology commented upon by Dr. Trevern, not more, I believe, than *two*, the extract from the Homily of Macarius and the extract from the Oration of Gregory Nazianzen, can be construed to have been addressed to persons, who had never been baptized, and who consequently had never been initiated into the secrets of the Mysteries. See above, book ii. chap. 4. § II. Even the heretic Marcion, assailed by Tertullian, had been by baptism initiated previous to his lapse into heresy: for he was the son of the worthy Bishop of Pontus, who faithfully excommunicated him, however he might grieve at his apostacy. See Epiph. cont. hæ. hæ. xlii. sect. 1.

2. Nor is this all. Augustine's Enarrations on the Psalms, from which *one* of my specimens was extracted, and which indisputably are addressed to the *initiated* because they set forth the high secrets of Christ's godhead and the Holy Trinity (See, inter alia, August. Enarr. in Psalm xlv. Oper. vol. viii. p. 144, 145.), actually contain a passage, in which the consecrated elements are not merely said to be symbols or figures, but in which it is even *explicitly denied* that communicants partake of that body of Christ which poured forth its blood upon the cross. August. Enarr. in Psalm. xviii. Oper. vol. viii. p. 397. The passage is cited above, book ii. chap. 4. § III. 6.

III. Thus lamentably weak, in every point of view, is Dr. Trevern's attempt, through the medium of his fancied secret of the Mysteries, to account for the appalling **FACT**, that the

of those respectable ecclesiastics, the confession doubtless propounds *a circumstance but too true and but too indisputable*. The acknowledged FACT is *certain*: we have, therefore, only to inquire, whether the mode of accounting for it, adopted from Schelstrate by the Bishop of Strasbourg, can be satisfactorily established.

1. These two very sagacious speculatists seem, either to have *themselves* forgotten, or to have expected *their readers* to forget, that the doctrine of the Eucharist, whatever that doctrine might be, though doubtless *one* of the secrets of the old Mysteries, was neither the *only* secret nor even the *principal* secret.

The *grand* arcanum was the doctrine of the Trinity, viewed as including the immediately connected doctrine of Christ's godhead and incarnation: the *subordinate* arcana were all the dependent and distinguishing doctrines of the Gospel; the doctrine of the Eucharist no doubt among the rest, but not more than the doctrine of Baptism and any other peculiar doctrine.

That the doctrine of the Trinity was the *palmary* secret, the fountain whence all the other minor secrets proceeded, stands established upon the most positive and direct evidence.

Cyril of Jerusalem informs us, that this *grand* secret, with its *dependent* concomitants, was com-

early Fathers *do not express themselves clearly* on the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

municated only to those who were quitting the class of the Catechumens ¹. Jerome is so absorbed by the idea of the *palmary* secret, that he even notices that secret *alone*, as if it were *exclusively* the object of the arcane discipline ². And the speaker in the Dialogue entitled *Philopatris*, who, under the appropriate name of *Triephon*, personates a Christian Catechist ; when, to his simulated perfect Catechumen *Critias* who is the other speaker in the Dialogue, he professes to deliver the *special* secret of the Ecclesiastical Mysteries ; declares that secret to be : *The lofty, the great, the immortal, the celestial God : the Son of the Father ; the Spirit proceeding from the Father : one from three ; and three from one : deem these things Jove ; reckon this to be God* ³.

¹ Ταῦτα τὰ μυστήρια νῦν ἡ ἐκκλησία διηγείται τῷ ἐκ κατηχουμένων μεταβαλλομένῳ. Οὐκ ἔστιν ἔθος ἔθνικοις διηγέσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔθνικῳ τὰ περὶ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ἸΟΥ ΚΑΙ ἈΓΙΟΥ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ διηγούμεθα μυστήρια. Οὐδὲ τῶν μυστηρίων ἐπὶ κατηχουμένων λευκῶς λαλοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ πολλάκις λέγομεν ἐπικεκαλυμμένως, ἵνα οἱ εἰδότες πιστοὶ νοήσωσι, καὶ οἱ μὴ εἰδότες μὴ βλαβῶσι. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. vi. p. 60.

² Consuetudo autem apud nos istiusmodi est, ut iis, qui baptizandi sunt, per quadraginta dies publicè tradamus SANCTAM ET ADORANDAM TRINITATEM. Hieron. ad Pammach. epist. lxi. c. 4. Oper. vol. ii. p. 180.

³ Ὑψιμέδοντα Θεόν, μέγαν, ἄμβροτον, οὐρανίωνα· Υἱὸν Πατρὸς, Πνεῦμα ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον· ἓν ἐκ τριῶν, καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς τρία· ταῦτα νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ' ἡγοῦ Θεόν. Philopat. c. xi. in Oper. Lucian. vol. iii. Reitz. Amstel. 1743.

To this enunciation of the grand secret of the Christian

Such is only a small part of the evidence, which might easily be adduced : but, since Dr. Trevern pretends not to *deny* the circumstance, I may well be spared the trouble of greater copiousness.

I consider it, then, as *an acknowledged* FACT : that the *palmary* secret of the Mysteries was the doctrine of the Trinity. And now, with this *fact* before us, let us turn to the very logical argument of Schelstrate and his copyist.

If, as we are assured, the true reason, why no satisfactory evidence for the doctrine of Transubstantiation can be discovered in the writings of the earlier Fathers, is ; that, by the arcane discipline, they were *not allowed to express themselves clearly*, for such a procedure *would have been at once a discovery and a betrayal of the secret* : then, since one of the *minor* secrets of the Mysteries was thus carefully guarded, we must conclude, *a fortiori*, that the *palmary* secret of the Mysteries would be even *yet more* jealously preserved. Now the *palmary* secret of the Mysteries was the doc-

Mysteries, the pagan buffoon, but simulated Catechumen, Critias, is made to reply.

Ἀριθμέειν με διδάσκεις, καὶ ὄρκος ἡ ἀριθμητικὴ καὶ γὰρ ἀριθμείεις ὡς Νικόμαχος ὁ Γερασηνός. Οὐκ οἶδα γὰρ τὶ λέγεις. Ἐν τρία, τρία ἔν. Μὴ τὴν τετρακτὺν φῆς τὴν Πυθαγόρου, ἢ τὴν ὀγδοῦδα καὶ τριακάδα ; Ibid.

Gesner seems to have proved, so far as matters of that kind *can* be proved, that the *Philopatris* was written during the reign of the Emperor Julian. See Gesner. Disput. de ætat. et auctor. Philopat. in Oper. Lucian. ad calc. vol. iii.

trine of the Trinity. Therefore, according to the argument of Schelstrate and Dr. Trevern, it is vain to expect any satisfactory evidence for the doctrine of the Trinity in the writings of the earlier Fathers: because, had they committed that doctrine to paper, it *would have been at once a discovery and a betrayal of the secret.*

Thus indisputably stands the case, according to the necessary purport of the argument now before us: for it will scarcely be said, that the doctrine of the Trinity is *less* sacred and *less* important than the doctrine of Transubstantiation; it will scarcely be said, that the primitive Christians might freely communicate their *greater* secret, while respecting their *smaller* secret they were by the arcane discipline *not allowed to express themselves clearly.*

But how is this case met by stubborn FACTS? Why, truly, there is scarcely a single antenicene Father, from whose writings the doctrine either of the Trinity or of the Divinity of Christ may not be distinctly learned¹. Nor is this all. Those early theologians not only commit their *palmary* secret to writings, which, it might be alleged, were circulated only among themselves the initiated: they likewise, equally and unreservedly, state it in those public Apologies, which were addressed to the pagan Emperors, and which were even

¹ See Bull's Defens. Fid. Nic. and Burton's Testim. of the Antenic. Fathers to the divin. of Christ.

designed for the most extensive circulation possible. Let us note, for instance, the Apologies of Justin and Athenagoras : one of whom flourished about the year 140 ; the other, about the year 170. The doctrine of the Trinity was the *grand* secret of the Mysteries : and yet, when it was thought beneficial to the Church, that, for the purpose of disarming the political jealousy of Roman Paganism, this tenet should be fairly and openly stated ; Justin and Athenagoras, standing forth avowedly as her spokesmen, make not the slightest scruple of clearly stating that grand doctrine, in the face of the whole world, both heathen and judaic and christian ¹.

¹ See Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 43. Athenag. Legat. § ix. xi. xxii. p. 37, 38, 41, 96. The honest inquirer may also attend to the passages marked out by the following references. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Jud. Oper. p. 198. Tertull. adv. Prax. Oper. p. 405, 406. Tertull. Apol. adv. gent. Oper. p. 850. Melit. Apol. apud Chron. Pasch. in A. D. 164, 165. Clem. Alex. Protrep. Oper. p. 5, 6, 66, 68. Origen. adv. Cels. lib. iii. p. 135. lib. iv. p. 169, 170. Arnob. adv. gent. lib. i. p. 24. Minuc. Fel. Octav. p. 280, 281, 284. Lucian. de Mort. Peregrin. Oper. vol. iii. p. 333, 334, 337, 338.

It was doubtless from the various Apologies and other controversial Works produced by the early ecclesiastical writers, in which they distinctly propound the doctrines of Christ's godhead and the Trinity, that the principal secret of the Mysteries was more or less known even to the Pagans. Hence we find *the worship of Christ as God* to have been one of the stock objections, regularly adduced against the Church by every heathen scribbler : and hence, as we have seen, the buffoon, who in the time of Julian wrote the dialogue *Philo-*

Now, if the doctrine of Transubstantiation were one of the subordinate secrets of the Mysteries, as Bellarmine and Schelstrate and Trevern pretend: how are we to account for the strange inconsistency, that the primitive Christians should readily commit, even to the most public writings, their *chief* secret; but that a *subordinate* secret they should have guarded with so much jealousy, that, even by interested latin perspicacity, no clear traces of it can be discovered in any of their compositions¹?

patris, distinctly exhibits the doctrine of the Trinity as the grand secret of the Christian Mysteries.

In fact, the secrets of these Mysteries were rather *nominal*, than *real*: for their gradual communication was rather a *point of mere catachetical discipline*, than *any attempt to confine them to a few select master-minds*. They were freely and indiscriminately communicated, in the way of progressive instruction, to ALL who were on the point of being received by baptism into the full communion of the Church Catholic. Accordingly, when the interests of Christianity seemed to require it, these nominal secrets were unreservedly exposed to the full gaze both of Jews and of Pagans. Such was the conduct of Justin in his controversial dialogue with the Jew Trypho: and such, as I have already observed, was the conduct of all the ancient Apologists to the pagan Emperors or to the pagan world in general.

¹ The Bishop of Strasbourg, in *his* mode of treating the subject, gives not the slightest hint, that the Mysteries communicated *any other* secret than that of Transubstantiation: and thus, while he dexterously avoids committing himself by an explicit assertion, that Transubstantiation was the *sole* secret; he leaves upon the mind of his unsuspecting English Laic the false impression, that the Mysteries were instituted

The simple truth is: that, although the sound primitive doctrine of the Eucharist was doubtless

for the *special* and *exclusive* purpose of concealing the doctrine of the Eucharist, which *he* contends to have been *the doctrine of Transubstantiation*. See Discuss. Amic. lettr. viii.

On *my own* mind the impression was assuredly left (and, on a careful reperusal of his eighth Letter, I see not how *any other* impression *could* be left), that such was the circumstance which he wished to inculcate: and thence, in the first edition of this Work, I discussed the matter accordingly; demonstrating, as my impression of Dr. Trevern's purpose obviously led and required me to demonstrate, that the doctrine of the Eucharist was neither the *sole* nor even the *principal* secret of the Mysteries.

I. This natural process stirred up the vehement wrath of the Bishop: and, in his *Answer*, he fiercely reviled me, as having wilfully misrepresented him, inasmuch as he had never asserted Transubstantiation to be the *exclusive* secret.

His bitter wrath evinces nothing more than extreme irritation, that his too evident purpose of guarded deception was detected and exposed.

He tells us, that he never asserted Transubstantiation to be the *exclusive* secret of the Mysteries.

True: he never, *totidem verbis et literis*, committed himself by hazarding any such grossly false assertion. The sagacious Prelate was much too wary to adventure the dangerous experiment. But, if he had no sinister object of deception in view: why, in addressing an English Layman who may be presumed to have not much studied topics of this description, was he **TOTALLY SILENT** as to the existence of any *other* secrets *beside* the doctrine of the Eucharist; why did he write in such a manner as inevitably to convey the impression, that the Mysteries were instituted for the *exclusive* purpose of concealing from all save the initiated the grand arcanum of Transubstantiation?

II. In truth, the whole of his argument turns upon this very

one of the subordinate secrets of the Mysteries, those Mysteries possessed no such portentous arcanum as that of Transubstantiation. Hence the early Fathers could by no possibility have written about a doctrine, of which they were profoundly ignorant : and hence, of course, to seek for any

hinge : and, without it, nothing can be more wretchedly inconclusive.

It is no wonder, he reasons, that so little clear proof of the doctrine of Transubstantiation can be elicited from the Works of the early Fathers. The discipline of the secret did not allow them to express themselves clearly. Had they openly and fully entered upon the doctrine, this would have been at once discovering and betraying the secret.

Thus argues Dr. Trevern : and his argument is specious enough, so long as his deceived reader fancies the *exclusive* secret of the Mysteries to have been *the doctrine of the Eucharist*. But, the moment the truth is told, the argument, as we have seen, forthwith commences the ungraceful operation of limping : while Dr. Trevern himself breaks forth into a towering passion against the mischievous truth-teller.

III. His conduct is the more reprehensible : because he ought to have known and fairly stated, that, when his notable argument from the discipline of the secret was first propounded, a very honest and respectable Bishop of his own Communion, Albaspinæus to wit, instantaneously demolished it pretty much on the same principle of reasoning with myself.

Albaspinæus rightly urged, that, to the conclusiveness of the argument, it was imperatively necessary, that the doctrine of the Eucharist should have been the *sole* and *exclusive* secret of the Mysteries. This, however, *it was not*. Therefore the argument was not worth a straw. Albaspin. *Police de l'ancienne Eglise*. livr. i. c. 2, p. 47. apud Albertin. de *Eucharist*. lib. ii. p. 703. See Bingham's *Ant. of the Christ. Church*, book x. c. 5.

clear traces of it in their Works is mere bootless labour and vanity and vexation of spirit.

2. Accordingly, that neither the Mysteries *taught*, nor that the Christians even of the fourth century *knew* any thing of, the doctrine of Transubstantiation, is established, beyond all reasonable doubt, by the very remarkable negative testimony of the Emperor Julian.

That extraordinary man was once, in profession at least, a christian : but, hating the light of the Gospel, he apostatised to Paganism. Now Julian, be it carefully observed, had been, not merely an uninitiated Catechumen, but a baptised Mysta¹. As a baptised Mysta, he must have heard the preparatory lectures of the Catechist : as a baptised Mysta, he must, according to the discipline of the Church, have been regularly initiated into the Mysteries. If, then, the doctrine of Transubstantiation were a secret *taught* in the Mysteries, Julian must have been well acquainted with the *existence* of that doctrine : and, if acquainted with its *existence*, a man of his humour could not have failed to make it the subject of his bitterest *ridicule*.

¹ Gregor. Nazian. Orat. iii. Oper. vol. i. p. 70. Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 2. Each of these writers speaks of Julian's profane obliteration of the holy character which he received in the laver of Baptism ; and describes that obliteration to have been effected by the unhallowed blood of the victims, which he devoted to the pagan deities or the averruncan demons. The *fact* of his baptism is the matter necessary to my argument.

How, then stands the case with the imperial apostate, who, having been baptized, had indisputably been initiated into *all* the secrets of the Mysteries?

(1.) In his Work against Christianity, great part of which has been substantially preserved and regularly answered by Cyril of Alexandria, Julian ridicules, the adoration of Christ on the part of the Church; the godhead of Christ; the birth of Christ from the Virgin; the conception of Christ by the Holy Ghost; the doctrine, that Christ was the creator of the universe; the doctrine, that Christ is the Word of God, the Son of God, God from God of the substance of the Father; the doctrine of the Trinity, which is the basis of the doctrine of Christ's godhead: he laughs, in a most especial manner, at the tenet of the resurrection from the dead in Christ; which, as including the resurrection of Christ the first-fruit, is (according to the accurate statement of St. Paul) the very basis of our faith and preaching: he amuses himself likewise with what he deems the incurable absurdity of the purification of sin by the mere element of water in baptism: and, approximating to the very subject of Transubstantiation and the literal sacrifice of Christ's material body and blood in the celebration of the Eucharist, if any such extraordinary doctrines had *then* been held and taught in the Church, he mocks the hated Galiléans for saying, that Christ had *once* been sacrificed on their behalf, and, con-

sequently, that they themselves offered up *no* sacrifices¹.

¹ See Cyril. Alex. cont. Julian. lib. v. p. 159. lib. vi. p. 191, 213. lib. viii. p. 253, 261, 262, 276. lib. ix. p. 290, 291, 314. lib. x. p. 327, 333. lib. vii. p. 245, 250. lib. ix. p. 305, 306. lib. x. p. 354. Lips. 1696.

For the purpose of *weakening*, if not of absolutely *overturning* my argument from the silence of Julian, Mr. Husenbeth, with his wonted disregard of accuracy when a turn is to be served, has asserted, in his last pamphlet (p. 33.), that Julian never once mentions *the resurrection of Christ*: whence, I suppose, he would have us conclude, that, since Julian omits to ridicule *Christ's resurrection*, he might also well omit to ridicule *the doctrine of Transubstantiation*, though perfectly acquainted with both the one and the other.

I. His reasoning would have been very weak, even if it had been founded upon fact: for, as the veriest child might have seen, the true question was, not whether Julian systematically ridiculed *every* doctrine of Christianity; but whether it be credible, that such a man would perpetually ridicule *many* doctrines *less* capable of being made a subject of merriment, and yet that he would totally omit to ridicule the doctrine of Transubstantiation which *far above all others* presents the *greatest* capability of burlesque.

II. But his reasoning is built upon an absolute falsehood: for Cyril assures us, that Julian, *even most especially*, ridiculed *the doctrine of the resurrection from the dead in Christ*; of which resurrection Christ himself was the *first-fruit and the earnest*.

In the first edition of this Work, as I professed not scholastically to enumerate *all* the doctrines ridiculed by Julian but only to give *specimens* of his humour, I accidentally omitted to mention, that Julian, among other doctrines of Christianity, ridiculed also that of *the resurrection from the dead in Christ*. This circumstance, apparently, has led Mr. Husenbeth most

But yet, though thus eagerly bent upon catching at any thing in Christianity which he might speciously turn to derision, NEVER ONCE, on *any* occasion or by *any* accident, does he *mention*, or even so much as *remotely allude to*, the latin doctrine of Transubstantiation.

(2.) Exactly the same remark applies to Julian's yet extant other Works.

Again and again he ridicules the Galilèans and all that appertains to them; their agapæ and ministrations at tables, their base superstition, their acknowledgment of Christ's godhead: Moses also, and the prophets, upon whom the Gospel is avowedly built, come in for a due share of his vituperation: Athanasius is reviled, as the enemy of the gods, and as the artful inveigler of noble women to receive the sacrament of Baptism: and, through the side of the first christian Emperor Constantine, the Gospel is vilified, as encouraging universal profligacy and dishonesty and licen-

unhappily to fancy, that he might safely assert *the total silence of Julian respecting our Lord's resurrection*. That the cautious inquirer may duly appreciate this individual's utter contempt of accuracy, I subjoin the testimony of Cyril in his own precise words.

Πρόκειται γὰρ αὐτοῖς (scil. Christianis) εἰς ὑπόσχεσιν τῆς νίθησις ἢ χάρις· τεύξεσθαι δὲ προσδοκῶσι καὶ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως ἐν Χριστῷ· ὃ δὲ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ διαγελᾶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθρὸς (scil. Julianus), ὡσπερ οὐκ ἐνόν, τῷ πάντα ἰσχύοντι Θεῷ, καὶ θανάτου κρείττονα ἀποφῆναι τὸν λόγον φθορᾶς ὑποκείμενον κατὰ ἰδίαν φύσιν. Cyril. Alex. cont. Julian. lib. vii. p. 250.

tiousness by its doctrine of cheaply purifying ablution and free pardon on condition of repentance¹.

Yet NEVER does the Emperor EVEN ONCE please himself, either by *ridiculing*, or by *simply noticing*, that doctrine *so preëminently liable to ridicule*, which has been gravely exhibited to us as the grand secret of the ancient Christian Mysteries.

(3.) I may be mistaken in estimating the strength of this argument: but it strikes upon my own apprehension, as being perfectly irresistible.

Let any reasonable being consider the *complete* knowledge which the *baptised* and therefore *fully initiated* apostate possessed of the doctrines of Christianity, his utter hatred of the Gospel, his perpetual recurrence to the detested Galilèans and their more detested theology, his humour of turning into ridicule whatever in Christianity he thought capable of being made ridiculous, and the peculiar liability of the doctrine of Transubstantiation to be made the subject of profane banter and mockery: let any reasonable being consider these several matters; and then let him judge, whether, if Transubstantiation had been a doc-

¹ See Julian. Imper. Oper. Orat. vi. p. 192. Orat. Fragment. p. 305. Misopog. p. 363. Epist. vii. p. 376. Epist. xlii. p. 423, 424. Epist. xlix. p. 429—431. Epist. li. p. 432—435. Epist. lii. p. 435—438. Epist. lxii. p. 450. Epist. lxiii. p. 453, 454. Orat. Fragment. p. 289, 295. Epist. vi. p. 376. Epist. xxvi. p. 398. Epist. li. p. 432, 435. Cæsar. p. 336. Lips. 1696.

trine of the early Catholic Church regularly taught in the Mysteries and duly received by all the faithful, it could possibly have been passed over in total silence by such a man as Julian.

The complete taciturnity of the Emperor, in every thing that regards the doctrine of Transubstantiation, is, I think, as complete a negative proof of its non-existence among the secrets of the Mysteries and consequently of its non-existence in the fourth century during which Julian flourished, as can be either desired or imagined. Above *all other* doctrines, the doctrine of Transubstantiation is incontestably the *most* obnoxious to banter and ridicule. Yet, while Julian repeatedly scoffs at doctrines *much less* adapted to the purposes of burlesque, he NEVER ridicules that which is even *especially* and *preëminently* suited to his humour, the latin dogma of Transubstantiation ¹.

¹ The aspect, under which the doctrine of Transubstantiation, had it been known to him, could not have failed to draw forth the pointed ridicule of the classical Julian, had already been exhibited by anticipation in the singularly appropriate question of Cicero.

By a very common figure of speech, says he, we call bread *Ceres* and wine *Bacchus*: but who was ever yet so besotted, as to fancy, that what he eats and drinks is literally a god?

Cum fruges *Cercrem*, vinum *Liberum*, dicimus; genere nos quidem sermonis utimur usitato: sed equem tam amentem esse putas, qui illud, quo vescatur, deum credat esse? Cicer. de nat. deor. lib. iii. § 16. p. 323.

With this familiar passage of Cicero before him, could Julian have *known* the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and yet have remained *totally silent*?

VII. It will be asked: How, then, are we to understand the singularly strong language respecting the Eucharist, which certainly occurs, if not in the writings of the earlier Fathers, yet in the writings of the Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries; language, adduced with sufficient copiousness by the latin advocates for the purpose of historically demonstrating the aboriginal existence of the doctrine of Transubstantiation within the pale of the Church Catholic?

To this question, the reply is abundantly easy.

Let those Fathers be allowed the very reasonable privilege of explaining their own phraseology: and their grandiloquence will speedily shrink into the very moderate dimensions of theological correctness.

Unhappily for the cause of truth, so far as the laic members of their own communion are concerned, the Roman Divines very duly produce the grandiloquence, but very carefully suppress the explanation¹.

¹ The Bishop of Strasbourg cannot be allowed to plead ignorance of the explanatory passages, for he himself *hints* at them even while in the very act of *suppressing* them. See Discuss. Amic. lettr. x. vol. ii. p. 59.

It might seem, as if *some* allusion to them was thought inevitable or at least prudent, lest the charge of *total* and *systematic* and *deliberate* garbling of evidence should be preferred against him: but still, while he ingeniously puts into the mouth of his English Layman the allegation that such passages *do* exist, he carefully refrains from *producing* the passages themselves.

With much inflation of language, the postnicene Fathers perpetually speak of the consecrated elements, as being *changed* or *transformed* into the body and blood of Christ, as being *made* the body and blood of Christ, as experiencing a wonderful *alteration* of character which must not be judged of by our external senses: and, in consequence of their employing such diction, the sacerdotal advocates of the Latin Church unscrupulously bring them forward as staunch and manifest Transubstantialists.

But, if we will only have the patience to hear them explain themselves, we shall find, from their own express statements, that the change, of which *they* speak, is a change, not of *substance*, but of *character*: we shall find, that the change, which

Why would he not, by their honest production, enable his friends of the Laity to form, by their own ocular inspection, a *really* just and accurate estimate of the litigated question?

Truly he well knew, that such a step would have been fatal to his cause.

Hence it is easy to account for his bitter wrath against *myself*; who (to retort his own insulting language to my brethren the English Clergy) *have proceeded, for the information of the Laity, to supply his deficiency of ministration.* Discuss. Amic. letr. x. vol. ii. p. 8.

The same charge of *copiously adducing the grandiloquence* of the postnicene Fathers, while he *carefully suppresses their explanations*, may be equally preferred against Mr. Berington. NOT ONE of the explanatory passages, which, in the present section, I am about to bring forward, does Mr. Berington, any more than the Bishop of Strasbourg, lay before his readers. *They are all sedulously suppressed.*

they thus magnificently celebrate, is a change, not *material* or *physical*, but *moral* or *sacramental*.

This change, in short, which through virtue of consecration the bread and wine experience, is explicitly declared by them, though our modern Latin Divines carefully suppress such declarations, to be homogeneous or similar in nature, to *the change wrought by consecration in an altar or in a church or in the chrism anciently used in the rite of confirmation*, to *the change wrought in a layman by sacerdotal ordination*, to *the change wrought in the unregenerate by the mighty efficacy of that spiritual renovation which attends upon the right reception of the sacrament of Baptism*.

Now, in all these *illustrative* cases, the change is, plainly and undeniably, *moral* or *sacramental*, not *material* or *substantial*.

Therefore, in the case of the Eucharist which they are professedly adduced to *illustrate*, the change produced in the bread and wine must, *by the very necessity of the illustration*, have been viewed, not as *material* or *substantial*, but as *moral* or *sacramental*.

1. No person ever spake of the Eucharist in more florid and exaggerated terms than Cyril of Jerusalem, who flourished about the middle of the fourth century. Hence, with the Latin Clergy, he is a specially favourite authority.

Christ himself having declared and said concerning the bread; This is my body: who shall hereafter dare to doubt? Christ himself having asserted

and pronounced; This is my blood: who shall hesitate, saying that it is not his blood? He once, at Cana of Galilee, by his own nod, changed the water into wine: and is he not worthy of credit, that he changed the wine into blood? If, when called to a mere corporeal marriage, he wrought that great wonder: shall we not much rather confess, that he hath given the fruition of his own body and blood to the sons of the bridegroom? Wherefore, with all full assurance, let us partake, as it were, of the body and blood of Christ. For, in the type of bread, the body is given to thee; and, in the type of wine, the blood is given to thee: in order that thou mayest partake of the body and blood of Christ, becoming with him joint body and joint blood—Christ, once conversing with the Jews, said: Except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood, ye have not life in yourselves. They, not having spiritually understood the things which were spoken, being scandalised, went back, fancying that he exhorts them to flesh-eating—Attend not, then, to the bread and wine, as if they were mere bread and wine: for they are the body and blood of Christ, according to the Lord's declaration. If sense suggest any thing to thee, let faith confirm thee. Judge of the matter, not from taste, but undoubtingly from the full assurance of faith, having been deemed worthy of Christ's body and blood—The apparent bread, though sensible to the taste, is not bread, but the body of Christ: and the apparent wine, though the taste intimate this, is not wine, but the blood of

*Christ—Strengthen, then, thy heart, partaking of this bread as spiritual: and make the countenance of thy soul joyful*¹.

In the midst of this declamatory language, from the intimations with which it is sprinkled, the *real* doctrine of Cyril, even if we should travel no further for its development, is abundantly manifest.

¹ Αὐτοῦ οὖν ἀποφηναμένου καὶ εἰπόντος περὶ τοῦ ἄρτου, Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα· τίς τολμήσει ἀμφιβάλλειν λοιπόν; Καὶ αὐτοῦ βεβαιωσαμένου καὶ εἰρηκότος, Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμα· τίς ἐνδοιάσει ποτέ, λέγων μὴ εἶναι αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα; Τὸ ὕδωρ ποτέ εἰς οἶνον μεταβέβληκεν, ἐν Κανᾷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, οἰκείῳ νέυματι· καὶ οὐκ ἀξιόπιστός ἐστιν οἶνον μεταβαλὼν εἰς αἷμα; Εἰς γάμον σωματικὸν κληθεὶς, ταύτην ἐθαυματούργησέ τὴν παραδοξοποιίαν· καὶ, τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ νυμφῶνος, οὐ πολλῶ μᾶλλον τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος δωρησάμενος ὁμολογηθήσεται; Ὡστε, μετὰ πάσης πληροφορίας, ὡς σώματος καὶ αἵματος μεταλαμβάνωμεν Χριστοῦ. Ἐν τύπῳ γὰρ ἄρτου, δίδοται σοι τὸ σῶμα· καὶ, ἐν τύπῳ οἴνου, δίδοται σοι τὸ αἷμα· ἵνα γένη μεταλαβὼν σώματος καὶ αἵματος Χριστοῦ, σύσσωμος καὶ σύναιμος αὐτοῦ—Ποτέ Χριστὸς, τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις διαλεγόμενος, ἔλεγεν· Ἐὰν μὴ φάγητέ μου τὴν σάρκα, καὶ πίητέ μου τὸ αἷμα, οὐκ ἔχετε ζωὴν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. Ἐκεῖνοι, μὴ ἀκηκόετε πνευματικῶς τῶν λεγομένων, σκανδαλισθέντες, ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, νομίζοντες ὅτι ἐπὶ σαρκοφαγίαν αὐτοὺς προτρέπεται—Μὴ πρόσεχε οὖν, ὡς ψιλοῖς, τῶ ἄρτῳ καὶ τῶ οἴνῳ· σῶμα γὰρ καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ κατὰ τὴν δεσποτικὴν τυγχάνει ἀπόφασιν. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἡ αἴσθησίς σοι τοῦτο ὑποβάλλει, ἀλλὰ ἡ πίστις σε βεβαιούτω. Μὴ, ἀπὸ τῆς γέυσεως, κρίνης τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως πληροφοροῦ ἀνενδοιάστως, σώματος καὶ αἵματος Χριστοῦ καταξιώθεις—Ὁ φαινόμενος ἄρτος οὐκ ἄρτος ἐστίν, εἰ καὶ τῇ γέυσει αἰσθητὸς, ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ· καὶ ὁ φαινόμενος οἶνος οὐκ οἶνος ἐστίν, εἰ καὶ ἡ γεῦσις τοῦτο βούλεται, ἀλλὰ αἷμα Χριστοῦ—Στηρίζον τὴν καρδίαν, μεταλαμβάνων αὐτοῦ ὡς πνευματικοῦ· καὶ ἰλάρουν τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς σου πρόσωπον. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. Mystag. iv. p. 237—239.

He first warmly exhorts his Mystæ to partake, *as it were*, of the body and blood of Christ : and he explains his emphatically distinctive *as it were*, by teaching them, that the Lord's body and blood are given, not literally, but in the *type* of bread and in the *type* of wine ¹. He then declares, that the consecrated bread and wine are not *mere* bread and wine, or that they are not bread and wine viewed under the *sole* and *exclusive* aspect of their physical qualities : for, *by superadded grace* (as Ephrem of Antioch speaks), they are, according to the true or spiritual purport of the Lord's declaration, the body and blood of Christ ; whence we must not be so far misled by our taste as to deem the holy elements nothing more than *mere* or (as Justin and Irenæus speak) *common* bread and wine, such as are used in the ordinary secular intercourse of society ². Lastly, he repeatedly and carefully tells us, as if to prevent all possibility of misapprehension, that we are to partake of the bread as *spi-*

¹ Dr. Trevern and Mr. Berington have simultaneously agreed to suppress the word *ὡς* in their respective versions of this passage. With *them*, Cyril's mystæ are exhorted to partake, not *as it were* of the body and blood of Christ, but simply of the body and blood of Christ. See Ans. to Diff. of Roman. p. 240, and Faith of Cathol. p. 209.

² Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 76. Iren. adv. hæer. lib. iv. c. 34. p. 264. In point of ideality, I apprehend, the *κοινὸν* of Justin and the *communis* of the latin version of Irenæus are not *quite* the same, as the *ψιλοῖς* of Cyril. The *common* bread is the unconsecrated or secular bread : the *mere* bread is the bread without the spiritual grace attached or superadded to it.

ritual, that the words of Christ are to be *spiritually* understood, and that the Jews erred in interpreting him *literally* and in thence crudely fancying that he exhorted them to *substantial flesh-eating*¹.

Thus evident is the real doctrine of Cyril, even in the midst of much loose declamation : but, in his immediately preceding Catechesis, he had al-

¹ This most important explanatory part of the Catechesis ; which justly exhibits, *as a gross error*, the notion of the Jews, that *Our Lord exhorted them to the literal eating of his own flesh* ; is, by Dr. Trevern, in *his* citation of the statement of Cyril, carefully and prudently *suppressed*. See Discuss. Amic. lettr. x. vol. ii. p. 8, 9.

But even such unjustifiable *suppression* of evidence is not the *worst* part of Dr. Trevern's conduct. He moreover *deliberately interpolates* the language of Cyril, that so he may compel him *distinctly* and *verbally* to propound the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

Cyril, speaking of the change in the eucharistic elements, tells his now baptised Mystæ : that, *Whatsoever the Holy Spirit shall have touched, that thing is sanctified and changed*.

But Dr. Trevern makes him say : that, *Whatsoever receives the impression of the Holy Spirit, is sanctified and changed*
INTO ANOTHER SUBSTANCE.

Πάντος γὰρ οὗ ἐὰν ἐπάψαιτο τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, τοῦτο ἡγίασται καὶ μεταβέβληται. Cyril. Catech. Mystag. v. p. 241.

Car tout ce qui recoit l'impression de l'Esprit Saint est sanctifié et changé EN UNE AUTRE SUBSTANCE. Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 87.

By the shameless *interpolation* of the words *en une autre substance*, Dr. Trevern would delude his English Layman into a belief, that Cyril, even *totidem verbis*, propounds the latin doctrine of Transubstantiation.

We shall presently find, that Dr. Trevern's *interpolation* of the word SUBSTANCE is *regular* and *systematic*.

ready put the matter out of all doubt, by distinctly stating, that the change in the bread and wine produced through virtue of consecration is homogeneous with the change in the chrism or confirmatory ointment produced through virtue of a similar consecration; in other words, he had put the matter out of all doubt, by distinctly stating, that the change in the consecrated elements is, not material or substantial, but moral or sacramental.

Ye have been anointed with ointment, having become associates and partakers of Christ. But take care, lest you deem that ointment to be mere ointment. AS ALSO the bread of the Eucharist, after the invocation of the Holy Spirit, is no longer bare bread, but the body of Christ: SO LIKEWISE this holy ointment is no longer mere ointment, nor as one may say common ointment, after the invocation; but it is the gracious gift of Christ and the presence of the Holy Spirit, being made energetic of his own godhead, which is symbolically anointed upon your forehead and upon your other organs of sense. And, with the apparent ointment indeed, the body is anointed: but, with the holy and vivifying Spirit, the soul is sanctified¹.

¹ Ὑμεῖς δὲ μύρον ἐχρίσθητε, κοινωνοὶ καὶ μέτοχοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενόμενοι. Ἄλλ' ὄρα μὴ ὑπονόησῃς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μύρον ψιλὸν εἶναι. Ὡσπερ καὶ ὁ ἄρτος τῆς εὐχαριστίας, μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, οὐκ ἔτι ἄρτος λιπὸς, ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ· οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἅγιον τοῦτο μύρον οὐκ ἔτι ψιλὸν, οὐδ' ὡς ἂν εἶποι τις κοινὸν, μετ' ἐπίκλησιν, ἀλλὰ Χριστοῦ χάρισμα καὶ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου παρουσία, τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος ἐνεργητικὸν γινόμενον, ὅπερ συμβολικῶς

2. The same turgid language occurs in the ancient Treatise on the Sacraments, which was long ascribed to Ambrose, which in fact breathes the very tone of his theology, and which is still inserted in his Works: but its real import is fully explained by the illustrative adduction of the professedly homogeneous case of a person, who, from being originally unregenerate, had, through virtue of his rightly receiving the consecration of Baptism, happily become regenerate.

Perhaps you will say: My bread is common bread: but that bread is bread before the words of the sacraments; yet, when consecration is super-added, from bread it becomes the flesh of Christ. Let us then define, how that, which is bread, can become the body of Christ by consecration.

Now, in what words, and in whose expressions, is the rite of consecration performed? Truly, in the words and expressions of Jesus Christ—The word of Christ, therefore, makes this sacrament. What word of Christ? Truly, that, by which all things were made. The Lord commanded; and the heaven, the earth, and the seas, were created: the Lord commanded; and every creature was produced. You see, then, how operative is the word of Christ. Hence, if there be so great power in the word of the Lord Jesus, that the things, which were not, should begin

ἐπὶ μετώπου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σου χρίεται αἰσθητηρίων. Καὶ, τῷ μὲν φαινόμενῳ μύρῳ, τὸ σῶμα χρίεται· τῷ δὲ ἁγίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ Πνεύματι, ἡ ψυχὴ ἁγιάζεται. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. Myst. iii. p. 285.

to be: how much more operative is it, that the things, which are, should be commuted into somewhat else—

Therefore, that I may answer you, there was not the body of Christ before consecration: but, after consecration, I say unto you, that now there is the body of Christ. He spake; and it was done: he commanded; and it was created. You yourself existed; but you existed, as the old creature: after you had been consecrated, you began to be the new creature. Would you know, how you became the new creature? Every one, he says, is a new creature in Christ. Learn, then, how the word of Christ can work a change in every creature: learn, how it transmutes, at pleasure, the institutes of nature¹.

¹ Tu forte dicis: *Meus panis est usitatus; sed panis iste panis est ante verba sacramentorum: ubi accesserit consecratio, de pane fit caro Christi.* Hoc igitur astruamus, quomodo potest, qui panis est, corpus esse Christi consecratione.

Consecratio, igitur, quibus verbis est, et cujus sermonibus? Domini Jesu—Ergo sermo Christi hoc conficit sacramentum. Quis sermo Christi? Nempe is, quo facta sunt omnia. Jussit Dominus; et factum est cœlum: jussit Dominus; et facta est terra: jussit Dominus; et facta sunt maria: jussit Dominus; et omnis creatura generata est. Vides ergo, quam operatorius sit sermo Christi. Si ergo tanta vis est in sermone Domini Jesu, ut inciperent esse quæ non erant: quanto magis operatorius est, ut sint quæ erant et in aliud commutentur—

Ergo tibi ut respondeam, non erat corpus Christi ante consecrationem: sed, post consecrationem, dico tibi, quod jam corpus est Christi. Ipse dixit; et factum est: ipse mandavit; et creatum est. Tu ipse eras; sed eras vetus creatura: posteaquam consecratus es, nova creatura esse cœpisti. Vis

The illustrative winding up of the passage, where the change effected in the bread and wine by consecration and the change effected in a naturally unregenerate man by baptismal regeneration are professedly brought together as homogeneous changes, distinctly and unequivocally shews, that, in the judgment of the writer, the mutation in the eucharistic elements is, not substantial or material, but moral or sacramental¹.

scire, quàm nova creatura? *Omnis, inquit, in Christo nova creatura. Accipe ergo, quemadmodum sermo Christi creaturam omnem mutare consueverit; et mutat, quando vult, instituta naturæ. Tractat. de Sacram. lib. iv. c. 4. in Oper. Ambros. col. 1248.*

¹ Dr. Trevern's management of this passage must in no wise be left unnoticed.

The illustration from Baptism, which determines the change in the bread and wine to be only *moral* or *sacramental*, he totally suppresses: and, in order to bring out the desired result that the ancient author should teach a *substantial* change, he actually *interpolates* the original Latin. Nor is even this the whole extent of his amazing assurance. First, he translates the words, *in aliud commutentur*, by the words, *passé en une autre* SUBSTANCE: and then, to complete the scandalous deception, he prints his interpolated version in Italics, without giving a line of the original Latin; that so his English Laic might not fail to observe an apparently very remarkable attestation to the doctrine of a *substantial* change in the elements. See Discuss. Amic. lettr. x. vol. ii. p. 92.

I. In truth, this unscrupulous Bishop of Strasbourg has carried to an unparalleled extent the system of *deliberately interpolating* this important word SUBSTANCE, which obviously constitutes the very hinge of the present dispute.

1. If, in the ancient Liturgies, prayer is offered to God, that

3. In a genuine Work of Ambrose, we meet with phraseology so exactly parallel to that em-

the elements may become or may be changed into the body and blood of Christ : Dr. Trevern, again and again, assures his English Layman, that, with one voice, they all proclaim *the change of SUBSTANCE*; and laments most tragically, that our Bishop Bull and Archbishop Wake and Dr. Waterland should have been unable to discover so plain a matter. See Discuss. Amic. vol. i. p. 431, 435. vol. ii. p. 1, 2. Answer to Diffic. of Roman. p. 130, 131, 182, 195, 198.

2. If the protestant divines, Stephens or Grabe or Whiston, construct an office for the Eucharist, professedly adopting the precise above-mentioned phraseology of the ancient Liturgies : Dr. Trevern assures his Layman, that they all, convinced by irresistible testimony, direct us to pray for *a change of SUBSTANCE*. See Discuss. Amic. vol. i. p. 426, 427, 428. Answ. to Diff. of Rom. p. 196.

3. If the old Catecheses use the same phraseology as the old Liturgies : Dr. Trevern incontinently informs his Layman, that *change of SUBSTANCE* is the doctrine, which they all invariably inculcate. See Answ. to Diff. of Rom. p. 259.

4. If the Fathers of the six first centuries tell us, that the bread and wine become by consecration the body and blood of Christ : Dr. Trevern clamourously assures his English Layman, that they all to a man inculcate *a change of SUBSTANCE*; nay, in a somewhat prolix though doubtless very sentimental oration which he kindly puts into the collective mouths of those venerable personages, he absolutely compels *themselves*, the actual *old ancient Fathers* to declare, that *the change of SUBSTANCE* is their universal and unvaried doctrine. See Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 31, 41. Answ. to Diff. of Rom. p. 304—317.

II. Such are the unworthy devices resorted to by the Bishop of Strasbourg to prop an indefensible speculation.

The Ancients tell us, that, by consecration, the elements become or are changed into the body and blood of Christ. Hence arises a dispute, whether they speak of a *moral* or of a *substan-*

ployed by the old writer on the Sacraments, that we cannot doubt of the one author having bor-

tial change: a dispute, which can only be determined by their own explanation of their own phraseology. This very dispute, however, Dr. Trevern, with all imaginable compendiousness, settles, by the very simple plan of *universally interpolating*, on his own private authority, the palmary word **SUBSTANCE!**

Truly, if Latin Divines may be permitted *thus* to theologise to English Laymen, they will find small difficulty in completely demonstrating, that the doctrine of Transubstantiation was held by the Catholic Church from the very beginning!

III. Perhaps, by some admirer of Dr. Trevern, I shall be told, that that Prelate cites *two* at least of the ancient Fathers, Eusebius of Emessa in the fourth century and Cesarius of Arles in the sixth century, *each* of whom distinctly states, that the visible creatures are changed into the **SUBSTANCE** of Christ's body and blood: *Les créatures visibles en la SUBSTANCE de sa chair et de son sang*; and *Les créatures visibles en la SUBSTANCE de son corps et de son sang*. Discuss. Amic. lettr. x. vol. ii. p. 29, 33.

I readily allow, that *here* there has been *no* interpolation: but, when the whole tale shall have been unfolded, our English Laity will perhaps be disposed to think with myself, that a more disgraceful attempt at *deliberate imposture* has rarely been perpetrated.

1. What our proselyting Bishop adduces, as the *two distinct* testimonies of *two distinct* ancient authors whom he unhesitatingly pronounces to be Eusebius of Emessa and Cesarius of Arles, are, in truth, *one* and the *self-same* testimony: for not only are the pretended *two* passages, severally ascribed by him to those *two* authors, absolutely *identical*; but even the pretended *two* homilies, which contain the pretended *two* distinct passages, are, verbatim, from beginning to end, absolutely *identical* also.

rowed from the other : and the fact of mutuation is yet further established by the important cir-

Now it is a clear case, that *two* individuals, in *two* different centuries, could, by no moral possibility, have *severally* sat down and *severally* written *two* homilies, which, with marvellous coincidence, shall, throughout, be verbatim *identical*. Hence, I suppose, it will be allowed, that the pretended *two* testimonies, being in truth only *one* testimony, cannot have appertained, *both* to Eusebius, and *also* to Cesarius. Whoever was the author of the *one single* testimony (for certainly there is no more than *one* testimony, though the Bishop liberally supplies his projected proselyte with *two* testimonies), he could only have been *one single* individual.

2. Whether, then, was this *one single* individual, so rapidly multiplied into *two distinct* individuals, Eusebius of Emessa who flourished in the fourth century, or Cesarius of Arles who flourished in the sixth century ?

Truly, under favour of Dr. Trevern, he was neither the one nor the other of those two Fathers.

The homily, which contains their pretended *distinct* testimony, is one of a series of five. It will be found in the Cologne edition of the Bibliotheca Patrum A.D. 1618, though not in the Paris edition of the same Work by De Bigne : and it will also, verbatim, be found among the Works of Jerome, vol. ix. p. 212, 213. Colon. Agrip. 1616 ; where, by the editor, it is rightly ascribed to *an uncertain author*.

And well does Jerome's editor *thus* ascribe it : for, in truth, its author is *utterly uncertain* and *utterly unknown*. That it was written neither by Eusebius nor by Cesarius (the former of whom, Dr. Trevern, with most suspicious caution, represents as having been its acknowledged author for a thousand years), is, I believe, confessed by all critics : for, while, in pure conjecture, it has been variously given to Eucherius, to Isidore Hispalensis, to Bruno de Segni, to Faustus of Riez, to Maximus either of Riez or of Turin, to the venerable Bede, to

cumstance, that Ambrose winds up his grandiloquence with the self-same illustrative adduction

Rabanus Maurus of Mentz, to a supposed Eusebius Gallicanus, and to sundry others with whose very characters Baronius professes himself unacquainted (*aliorum nobis ignotorum*); nothing about it is *certainly known*, save that it was in existence in the time of Paschase Radbert or during the ninth century, because Paschase, in his Epistle to Frudegard *de Corpore Christi*, cites the passage produced as ancient evidence by Dr. Trevern, and like him erroneously ascribes it to Eusebius of Emessa. Clearly, therefore, in the ninth century, the homily was in existence: but, when it originally *sprang* into existence, we know not. Yet does the Bishop of Strasbourg solemnly produce this *single* comparatively modern testimony of some uncertain author, as the *two distinct* testimonies of Eusebius of Emessa and Cesarius of Arles: and *that* too, without either telling his English Layman where these pretended *two distinct* testimonies may be found, or giving him the slightest hint of their true character!

3. Let the passage, however, have been penned by whom it may, Dr. Trevern brings it forward as a clear testimony in favour of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. But, in truth, it is nothing to his purpose.

From the language of the homily, which contains the passage, Baronius himself, as adduced by Albertinus in his *Work de Eucharistiæ Sacramento*, fairly admits, that the doctrine of Transubstantiation cannot be established; and even allows, that, on the first blush, the author appears *adverse* to the romish scheme (*hic author, licet prima fronte adversari nobis videri posset*): but he stoutly contends, that the homily contains nothing which may not be *handsomely explained* (*nihil enim in ea est, quod probè exponi non potest*); and thence modestly winds up the whole with claiming the writer to be indisputable *latin* property. *Totus profecto noster est, quicumque ille sit. Verum de autore tam ignoto nimis agimus.*

of the confessedly moral change produced in the worthy recipient of the strictly parallel sacrament of Baptism.

4. The matter *now* presents an aspect even yet additionally ridiculous, by bringing into direct collision two equally zealous defenders of the infallible and perfectly harmonious Church of the Western Patriarchate.

While Cardinal Baronius has much ado to claim this stray waif as honest *popish* property; while he quite gives up the hopeless project of *establishing* from it the doctrine of Transubstantiation; and while he contents himself with remarking that good handsome management will at least prevent it *from doing much mischief*: Bishop Trevern, secure in the well calculated ignorance of his English Layman, intrepidly brings it forward, as affording *two* amazingly strong and distinct *proofs* of the doctrine of Transubstantiation itself, the *one* from the fourth century, the *other* from the sixth!

5. Yet, saving Dr. Trevern's presence, well may Baronius admit, that the doctrine of Transubstantiation cannot be *established* from the homily in question. *That* homily, for I have perused it from beginning to end, is flat *against* the doctrine: and the only passage, which, in an insulated state and with a careful studied suppression of all the remainder, might even *seem* to make for it, is that produced by the Bishop of Strasbourg under the imposing aspect of *two distinct* testimonies borne by *two distinct* writers living in *two distinct* ages. The passage I here subjoin in the original Latin.

Visibilis sacerdos, visibiles creaturas, in SUBSTANTIAM corporis et sanguinis sui, verbo suo, secreta potestate, convertit.

(1) With respect to this passage, to reconcile the uncertain author with himself, we must conclude, that, when he spake of *the visible creatures being changed into the SUBSTANCE of Christ's body and blood*, he meant nothing more, than that they become, VERILY and INDEED (as our antitransubstantialising Anglican Church expresses it), that body and blood of Christ, which by the faithful only are taken and received in the Lord's Supper.

Perhaps you will say: I see another matter: how then do you assert to me, that I shall receive the body of Christ?

(2.) In this opinion I am the more confirmed by the circumstance, that exactly the same phraseology is used even by Bertram of Corby: though he explicitly declares, that no change takes place in the SUBSTANCE of the elements by any virtue of consecration.

Tunc intelligetis, quod non, sicut infideles arbitrantur, carnem meam a credentibus comedendam; sed VERE, *per mysterium*, panem et vinum in corporis et sanguinis mei conversam SUBSTANTIAM a credentibus sumendam. Bertram. de Corp. et Sang. Domin. p. 194, 195.

Nam, secundum creaturarum SUBSTANTIAM, quod fuerunt ante consecrationem, hoc et *postea* consistunt. Ibid. p. 205.

6. The painful reader will probably think, that enough has now been said on this topic: nevertheless, I must request his patience for a few moments longer.

Dr. Trevern has deliberately quoted a *spurious* homily, as the *true* paschal homily of Eusebius of Emessa. Now it happens most unluckily, that a Greek (not a Latin) Oration on the Paschal Holyday, purporting to have been really written by this very Eusebius, is still extant: which said Oration, instead of advancing any thing favourable to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, absolutely contains not the slightest allusion whatever to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The whole of this singular composition is, in fact, a sort of Dialogue between the Devil and Pluto respecting the descent of Christ *ad inferos*. Satan proposes to keep him there: because, while upon earth, he had greatly annoyed the fiend by converting the two publicans Matthew and Zacchæus, whom the Devil considered as his own undoubted property. But Pluto disapproves of the plan, and expresses much unwillingness to accede to it. Nothing can be in worse taste: but still the Oration is quite foreign to Dr. Trevern's purpose.

It now, therefore, remains, that we should prove this position.

How many examples, then, shall we use? Let us prove, that this is not that, which nature formed, but which the benediction has consecrated: let us prove, that the force of the benediction is greater than the force of nature, because nature itself is changed by the benediction. Moses held a rod: he threw it down; and it became a serpent. Again, he laid hold of the tail of the serpent: and it returned into the nature of the rod. You see, how, through prophetic grace, the nature of the serpent and the rod was twice changed. The rivers of Egypt ran with pure water: suddenly, from the veins of the fountains, blood began to burst forth; so that there was no drink in the rivers. Again, at the prayers of the prophet, the blood of the rivers ceased: the nature of the waters returned. The people of the Hebrews was shut in on every side: here, obstructed by the Egyptians; there, confined

This strange piece was published in the year 1821, by Dean Augusti, from two M.S.S. in the imperial Library at Vienna. For the additional confusion of Dr. Trevern, I may remark, that Augusti, like myself, will tell him, that the latin homilies, which bear the name of Eusebius of Emessa, are not *his* property, but the compositions of authors by most supposed to have been gallican ecclesiastics. Augusti considers the judgment of Baronius on this point to be quite conclusive: and he cites from him a sentence, which I would strongly recommend to the serious attention of the Bishop of Strasbourg.

Sunt quidam librorum institores, qui vulgarium et obscurorum virorum libros nobilium scriptorum titulis coronant.

by the sea. Moses lifted up his wand: forthwith the water separated itself, and became congealed in the appearance of walls; so that, between its waves, a road for footmen was visible. Jordan, also, turning back contrary to nature, flowed upward to the commencement of its fountain. Is it not hence clear, that the nature even of the waves of the sea or of the course of a river is changed?—The river Marath was very bitter, so that the thirsty people could not drink of it. Moses threw wood into the water: and the nature of the streams laid aside its bitterness, which grace infused suddenly tempered—If, then, human benediction availed so much, that it should change nature: what shall we say concerning divine consecration, where the very words of the Lord the Saviour operate? For that sacrament, which you receive, is effected by the word of Christ? If the word of Elias so availed, that it brought down fire from heaven: shall not the word of Christ avail, that it should change the kinds of the elements? Concerning the works of the whole world, you have read: that He spake; and they were made: he commanded; and they were created. If, then, the word of Christ could produce out of nothing that which was not; cannot it change, into that which they were not, the things which already exist?—It was the true flesh of Christ, which was crucified, which was buried: truly, therefore, this is the sacrament of that flesh. The Lord Jesus himself exclaims: This is my body. Before the benediction of the heavenly words, another kind is NAMED: after

the consecration, the body of Christ is SIGNIFIED. He himself calls it his blood. Before consecration, it is CALLED another thing: after consecration, it is CALLED blood. You say; Amen: that is; it is true. What the mouth speaks, let the internal mind confess: what the word sounds, let the affection feel. By these sacraments, then, Christ feeds his Church: by these, the substance of the soul is strengthened—Christ is in that sacrament, because it is the body of Christ. Therefore it is food, NOT CORPOREAL, but SPIRITUAL—

Having, then, gained all things, we know that we are regenerate. Nor let us ask: How were we regenerated? Have we entered into the womb of our mother, and have we been born again? I recognise not here the ordinary course of nature. But there is here no order of nature, where there is excellence of grace—We must not doubt, that the Holy Spirit, descending from above into the font or over him who obtains baptism, coöperates the truth of regeneration¹.

¹ Forte dicas: *Aliud video; quomodo tu mihi asseris, quod Christi Corpus accipiam?*

Et hoc nobis adhuc superest, ut probemus.

Quantis, igitur, utimur exemplis? Probemus non hoc esse quod natura formavit, sed quod benedictio consecravit: majoremque vim esse benedictionis quam naturæ, quia benedictione etiam natura ipsa mutatur. Virgam tenebat Moyses: projecit eam; et facta est serpens. Rursus apprehendit caudam serpentis: et in virgæ naturam revertitur. Vides, igitur, prophetica gratia, bis mutatam esse naturam et serpentis et virgæ. Currebant Ægypti flumina puro aquarum meatu: subito de

The final adduction of the illustration, from the parallel and homogeneous sacrament of Baptism,

fontium venis sanguis cœpit erumpere; non erat potus in fluviis. Rursus, ad prophetæ preces, cruor cessavit fluminum: aquarum natura remeavit. Circumclusus undique erat populus Hebræorum: hinc, Ægyptiis vallatus; inde, mari clausus. Virgam levavit Moyses: separavit se aqua, et in murorum speciem congelavit; atque, inter undas, via pedestris apparuit. Jordanis, retrorsum conversus contra naturam, in sui fontis revertitur exordium. Nonne claret naturam vel maritimorum fluctuum vel fluvialis cursus esse mutatam?—Marath fluvius amarissimus erat, ut sitiens populus bibere non posset. Misit Moyses lignum in aquam: et amaritudinem suam aquarum natura deposuit, quam infusa subito gratia temperavit—Quod si tantum valuit humana benedictio, ut naturam converteret; quid dicimus de ipsa consecratione divina, ubi verba ipsa Domini Salvatoris operantur? Nam sacramentum istud, quod accipis, Christi sermone conficitur. Quod si tantum valuit sermo Helix, ut ignem de cœlo deponeret: non valebit Christi sermo, ut species mutet elementorum? De totius mundi operibus legisti: *Quia ipse dixit; et facta sunt: ipse mandavit; et creata sunt.* Sermo ergo Christi, qui potuit ex nihilo facere quod non erat, non potest ea, quæ sunt, in id mutare quod non erant?—Vera utique caro Christi, quæ crucifixa est, quæ sepulta est: verè ergo carnis illius sacramentum est. Ipse clamat Dominus Jesus: *Hoc est corpus meum.* Ante benedictionem verborum cœlestium, alia species NOMINATUR: post consecrationem, corpus Christi SIGNIFICATUR. Ipse dicit *sanguinem suum.* Ante consecrationem, aliud DICITUR: post consecrationem, *sanguis* NUNCUPATUR. Et tu dicis; *Amen: hoc est; verum est.* Quod os loquitur, mens interna fateatur: quod sermo sonat, affectus sentiat. His igitur sacramentis pascit Ecclesiam suam Christus, quibus animæ firmatur substantia—In illo sacramento Christus est, quia corpus est Christi. NON ergo CORPORALIS esca, sed SPIRITALIS est—

determines, even if the whole tenor of the preceding context had not already quite sufficiently determined, the doctrine of Ambrose as to the nature of the change in the eucharistic elements : and, accordingly, he is cited and brought forward by Bertram of Corby, throughout his whole *Treatise on the body and blood of Christ*, as decidedly establishing his own view of the question ; that *the consecrated bread and wine are figures or symbols or sacraments of that, which they allegorically represent, and by the name of which they are thence metonymically called*¹.

Unde adepti omnia, scimus regeneratos nos esse. Nec dicamus : *Quomodo regenerati sumus ? Non agnosco usum naturæ.* Sed nullus hic naturæ ordo, ubi excellentia gratiæ—Non utique dubitandum est, quod, superveniens in fontem vel super eum qui baptismum consequitur, veritatem regenerationis cõperetur. Ambros. de iis qui myster. initiant. c. ix. Oper. col. 1235—1237.

¹ The strictly consentaneous management of this passage in Ambrose, on the part of Dr. Trevern and Mr. Berington, well deserves the attention of the honest inquirer.

They, first, very duly *cite* the adduced change of the rod of Moses into a serpent and conversely of the serpent into the rod : BECAUSE *this* change is undeniably a change of SUBSTANCE.

Next, they carefully *omit* the equally adduced changes, of the liquid waves of the Red Sea into an apparently solid wall, of the defluent waters of the Jordan into reflux waters, and of the bitter streams of Marath into sweet streams : BECAUSE, palpably, in all *these* changes, NO change of SUBSTANCE occurs.

Next, they duly *cite*, as if in immediate illustrative connection with the SUBSTANTIAL change of the rod, the language of Ambrose relative to the change of the consecrated elements

4. But, of all the writers of the fourth or fifth century, Gregory of Nyssa is by far the most co-

into the body and blood of Christ : BECAUSE, by *thus* citing it, that language would naturally seem to import a parallel or homogeneous SUBSTANTIAL change of the consecrated elements *also*.

Lastly, they carefully *omit* his real concluding illustration, from the case of the MORAL change wrought in an unregenerate man by spiritual regeneration : BECAUSE, had this illustration been faithfully exhibited to their readers, the plain and necessary inference would have been, that Ambrose knew of no change in the consecrated elements save a MORAL change *only*.

I. Through this dexterous alternation of *quoting* and *suppressing*, carried on with curious uniformity of plan by these two latin divines, they contrive to make out a case, which may well perplex the unsuspecting individual, who, good easy man, relying full surely on their citative integrity, never dreams of consulting, or perhaps has no opportunity of consulting, the *entire* original of Ambrose : for, doubtless, by such management, Ambrose, as *thus curtatively* exhibited, *appears* to compare the change in the eucharistic elements to the undeniably SUBSTANTIAL change of the rod of Moses. See Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 12—14. Answer to Diff. of Rom. p. 242—244. Faith of Cathol. p. 214—216.

That the *design* of this management was to bring out the seemingly logical result of a SUBSTANTIAL change in the consecrated elements, is *actually avowed* by the Bishop of Strasbourg himself : for he, *even professedly*, argues ; that, Since the *illustrative* change in the rod of Moses was SUBSTANTIAL, the *illustrated* change in the consecrated elements must be SUBSTANTIAL also. See Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 41. Answ. to Diff. of Rom. p. 306.

Why did the Bishop *suppress* the other *equally* adduced changes in the waters of the Red Sea and of Jordan and of Marath ?

Clearly, BECAUSE, had he honestly cited *them* in their proper place, his argument must *then* have run as follows.

pious in his valuable illustrations of the nature of that change, which occurs in the elements of bread

Since the *illustrative* changes in the waters of the Red Sea and of Jordan and of Marath were NOT SUBSTANTIAL, the illustrated change in the consecrated elements must also be NOT SUBSTANTIAL.

II. The truth is, that he and Mr. Berington work entirely upon a false principle; the real deceptive quality of which would immediately have been self-evident, had they not with curious unanimity garbled the passage.

Nothing can be more plain, than that the several *non-homogeneous* miracles, brought forward by Ambrose, could never, simply because they *are* non-homogeneous, have been designed for *illustration*. Totally *dissimilar* as they are in character, he nevertheless, justly and properly, employs them *all alike*: BECAUSE he employs them, *not* in the way of *illustration* for which their utter *non-homogeneousness* palpably disqualifies them, *but* purely in the way of the *familiar argument from the less to the greater*.

If God could work, of old, such miracles as these; he reasons: *why should we doubt of his working the still greater miracle of so changing the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, as to impart to the originally mere material creatures a mighty grace alike supernatural and spiritual?*

Such, from the non-homogeneous character of the various adduced ancient miracles, is, most indisputably, the *argument*: as for the *nature* of the change in the consecrated elements, *that* is illustrated, not by all or by any one of the adduced miracles, but by the case of the *strictly and exclusively* MORAL change produced through regeneration.

III. It is really painful thus to expose the *deliberate* and *systematic* and *simultaneous* practices of the Romish Priesthood; for, unless my memory deceive me, I have noted exactly the same dishonest management of Ambrose by *other* latin divines, as well as by Dr. Trevern and Mr. Berington: but the cause of truth imperiously requires such an exposure.

and wine by virtue of the word of consecration. He may, indeed, be well said to have exhausted the subject : for he has established, past all reasonable doubt, that, however grandiloquently some of the postnicence Fathers might speak of the eucharistic transmutation ; they, in reality, acknowledged no change, save that which is simply moral or sacramental.

Since this holy altar, at which we stand, is in its nature only a common stone, differing nothing from those other flat tablets, which are built into our walls or which ornament our pavements ; but, when it has been dedicated to the service of God and has received the benediction, it is a holy table, an unpolluted altar, no longer indiscriminately handled by all, but touched only by the priests and even by them with pious caution : and, again, since the bread is originally mere common bread ; but, when the mystery shall have wrought its sanctification, it is both called and is the body of Christ : THUS the mystic oil, THUS the wine, though of small value before the benediction, respectively operate with mighty power after sanctification by the Spirit. The SAME potency of the word, moreover, effects a venerable and honourable priest : when, through the newness of the benediction, the individual is separated from common fellowship with the many. For, only yesterday and the day before, he was nothing more than one out of the many, nothing more than one of the Laity : but now he is set forth, as a leader, as a presessor, as a teacher of piety, as a hierophant of the hidden mys-

*teries. And these things he does, not at all changed in body or in form: but he does them; being, in outward appearance, the same person that he was before; though, in his invisible soul, through a certain invisible power and grace, being metamorphosed into a better condition*¹.

¹ Ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦτο τὸ ἅγιον, ᾧ παρεστήκαμεν, λίθος ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν κοινός, οὐδὲν διαφέρων τῶν ἄλλων πλακῶν, αἱ τοῖς τοίχοις ἡμῶν οἰκοδομοῦσι καὶ καλλοπίζουσι τὰ ἐδάφη. Ἐπίδαν δὲ καθιερώθη τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ θεραπεία, καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἐδέξατο, ἔστι τράπεζα ἅγια, θυσιαστήριον ἄχραντον, οὐκ ἔτι παρὰ πάντων ψηλαφώμενον, ἀλλὰ μόνον τῶν ἱερέων, καὶ τούτων εὐλαβουμένων. Ὁ ἄρτος πάλιν ἄρτος ἐστὶ τέως κοινός· ἀλλ', ὅταν αὐτὸν τὸ μυστήριον ἱερουργήσῃ, σῶμα Χριστοῦ λέγεται τε καὶ γίνεται. Οὕτως τὸ μυστικὸν ἔλαιον, οὕτως ὁ οἶνος, ὀλίγου τινὸς ἄξια ὄντα πρὸ τῆς εὐλογίας· μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμόν τὸν τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν ἐνεργεῖ διαφόρως. Ἡ αὐτὴ δὲ τοῦ λόγου δύναμις καὶ τὸν ἱερέα ποιεῖ σεμνὸν καὶ τίμιον τῇ καινότητι τῆς εὐλογίας τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς κοινότητος χωριζόμενον. Χθὲς γὰρ καὶ πρῶην εἰς ὑπάρχων τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου, ἀθρόον ἀποδείκνυται καθηγεμῶν, πρόεδρος, διδάσκαλος εὐσεβείας, μυστηρίων λανθανόντων μυσταγωγός· καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῖ, μηδὲν τοῦ σώματος ἢ τῆς μορφῆς ἀμειφθείς· ἀλλ' ὑπάρχων κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον ἐκείνος ὃς ἦν, ἀοράτῳ τινὶ δυνάμει καὶ χάριτι τὴν ἀόρατον ψυχὴν μεταμορφωθείς πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον. Gregor. Nyssen. in Baptism. Christ. Oper. vol. ii. p. 801, 802. Paris. 1615.

This explicit statement of Gregory fully explains the real import of a passage, which has sometimes been adduced from him by the Romanists.

Καλῶς οὖν καὶ νῦν τὸν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἁγιαζόμενον ἄρτον εἰς σῶμα τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον μεταποιεῖσθαι πιστεύομαι, πρὸς ἐκεῖνο μεταστοιχειώσας τῶν φαινομένων τὴν φύσιν. Gregor. Nyssen. Orat. Catech. c. xxxvii.

We admit a *sacramental* or *moral* change in the elements, according to the tenor of Gregory's own illustrative compa-

This remarkable passage speaks for itself. From no commentary can it derive any greater clearness and perspicuity than it already possesses.

risons : but we deny a *substantial* change. *Morally*, the nature or quality of the elements is changed : *materially*, it remains unchanged. Were we, with the Romanists, to suppose, that Gregory here speaks of a *substantial* change : we should not only put an entirely gratuitous sense upon his words, according to Dr. Trevern's favourite mode of citing the Fathers ; but, what is still worse, we should even make him contradict himself.

CHAPTER V.

PURGATORY.

IF any such region as the Purgatory of the Latin Church really exist, we may be morally certain that Christ would have explicitly announced its existence: and, if Christ has been totally silent on the subject, we cannot reasonably be expected to believe in the existence of a region which has never been propounded to us by the voice of revelation.

Now, on the awful truths of the next world, our Lord is copious and distinct, alarming and consolatory. We have the whole fearful machinery of the last day placed, as it were, substantially before our very eyes: the sheep, on the right hand of the Judge; the goats, on the left hand. We hear, as if with our bodily ears, the irreversible doom of weal or woe. The doors of the adytum are thrown open: the mystery, hidden or but dimly perceived through a long succession of ages, is unreservedly declared to the whole universe. Yet, respecting

Purgatory, the great and omniscient hierophant is profoundly silent.

Since, then, we cannot reasonably be expected to believe, what has never been revealed : still less can we reasonably be expected to believe, what has even been plainly contradicted by the voice of inspiration.

*I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me : Write ; Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth. Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours : and their works do follow them*¹.

The dead in the Lord are *blessed* : and, whensoever they depart hence, they *rest* from their labours. Now, if it were necessary for them to enter into Purgatory, ere they were admitted into a state of beatified quiescence ; which, according to Dr. Trevern, ALL must do, since *the fire of Purgatory must cleanse us even from the slightest stains with which our souls shall depart out of this world*² : they would *not*, immediately after death, *rest blessedly* from their labours ; for doubtless the Purgatory of the Latin Priesthood does not hold forth to its inmates the accommodation of a bed of roses. Therefore, by an inevitable consequence from the plain words of Holy Writ, they enter *not* into any such region as a Roman Purgatory.

Under the aspect, then, of *a point of doctrine*

¹ Rev. xiv. 13.

² Doivent être purifiées de leurs *moindres* souillures. Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 243. note.

inculcated by the christian revelation, the notion of a Purgatory as delivered in the Latin Church is plainly untenable: because, not only is such notion no where taught in Scripture, but it is even altogether incompatible with Scripture. Yet, under the aspect of *a point of fact*, it will be useful evidentially to shew, that the notion no more prevailed in the primitive Church than it can be found in the Bible: and, under the aspect of *a point of curiosity*, it may not be altogether uninteresting to exhibit the notion, as it first dubiously and timidly appeared in a form very widely different from that, upon which the Roman Theologians, in their superscriptural wisdom, have been pleased to impress the seal of asserted orthodoxy.

I. The negative testimony, against the primitive existence of the doctrine of Purgatory, lies in the circumstance: that *More than one of the very earliest Fathers will prove totally silent on the topic of that doctrine, even when the nature of their subject must inevitably have led them to be explicit, had they really held the doctrine to be an indisputable and important verity.*

1. Polycarp, who flourished during the first and second centuries and who was a disciple of the Apostle John himself, twice, in his Epistle to the Philippians, speaks of *a resurrection from the dead*: yet, concomitantly, he gives not the slightest hint of any antecedent and preparatory Purgatory¹.

¹ Polycarp. Epist. ad Philipp. § 2, 7.

2. Athenagoras, who flourished about the year 174 and who falls into what is denominated the first succession from the Apostles, professedly wrote an entire Treatise on *the Resurrection of the Dead*: yet, notwithstanding the nature of his selected subject, he leaves the closely connected state of Purgatory wholly unnoticed and unmentioned¹.

3. Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp the disciple of St. John, who flourished through the greater part of the second century and who had conversed intimately with the Churches both of the East and of the West, *when treating of the condition of the departed*, says not a word about Purgatory: on the contrary, he satisfies himself with simply intimating; that *the souls of the dead shall depart into an invisible place prepared of God for them, where they shall abide in constant expectation of the resurrection and reunion of the body*².

II. The positive testimony, against the primitive existence of the doctrine of Purgatory, lies in

¹ Athenag. de Resurr. Mort. Oper, p. 143—219.

² Cum enim Dominus in medio umbræ mortis abierit, ubi animæ mortuorum erant; post deinde corporaliter resurrexit, et post resurrectionem assumptus est: manifestum est, quia et discipulorum ejus, propter quos et hæc operatus est Dominus, animæ abibunt in invisibilem locum definitum eis a Deo, et ibi usque ad resurrectionem commorabuntur sustinentes resurrectionem; post, recipientes corpora et perfectè resurgentes, hoc est corporaliter, quemadmodum et Dominus resurrexit, sic venient ad conspectum Dei. Iren. adv. hæc. lib. v. c. 26. p. 356.

the circumstance : that *Many of the oldest Fathers hold language, either directly contradictory to, or utterly incompatible with, the doctrine in question.*

1. Clement of Rome, the fellow-labourer of St. Paul, who flourished through all the latter half of the first century, is not only totally silent respecting the existence of any Purgatory, *even when expressly treating of death and the resurrection*¹ : but he moreover unequivocally declares, that, *when once we shall have departed this life, there is no room for us in another either to confess or to repent ; our condition hereafter being as fixed and immoveable, as that of an ill-formed vessel of clay, when once, with all its imperfections, it shall have been irrevocably hardened by the process of baking*².

2. Ignatius, the disciple of St. John, who flourished at the latter end of the first and at the beginning of the second century, asserts : that, *when our existence here shall have been brought to an end, two states only, a state of death and a state of life, are set before us : for, as every allegorical*

¹ Clem. Epist. ad Corinth. i. § 23—27.

² Ὡς οὖν ἐσμεν ἐπὶ γῆς, μετανοήσωμεν. Πηλός γάρ ἐσμεν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ τεχνίτου. Ὅν τρόπον γάρ ὁ κεραμεύς, ἂν ποτὴ σκεῦος, καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ διαστραφῆ ἢ συντριβῆ, πάλιν αὐτὸ ἀναπλάσσει· ἂν δὲ προφθάσῃ εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτὸ βαλεῖν, οὐκέτι βοηθήσει αὐτῷ· οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἕως ἐσμεν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ, ἐν τῇ σάρκι ἃ ἐπράξαμεν πονηρὰ μετανοήσωμεν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας, ἵνα σωθῶμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου, ἕως ἔχομεν καιρὸν μετανοίας. Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐξελεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου, οὐκέτι δυνάμεθα ἐκεῖ ἐξομολογήσασθαι ἢ μετανοεῖν ἔτι. Clem. Epist. ad Corinth. ii. §. 8.

coin bears impressed upon it the stamp of God or the stamp of the world; so, after his decease, shall every one depart to his own appropriate habitation¹.

3. Justin, who flourished during the first half of the second century and who had conversed with those that had been instructed by St. John teaches us: that, *when God shall raise all from the dead, he will place the holy in eternal happiness, but will consign the unholy to the punishment of eternal fire*².

4. The old author of *Questions and Answers to the Orthodox*, a Work once attributed to Justin and still published along with his writings, is even yet more express.

In this life, while the body and the soul are united, all things are common to the just and to the unjust. But, immediately after the departure of the soul from the body, the just are separated from the unjust; each being conducted by angels to their fitting places. The souls of the just pass forthwith

¹ Ἐπεὶ οὖν τέλος τὰ πράγματα ἔχει, ἐπίκειται τὰ δύο ὁμοῦ, ὅ τε θάνατος, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ· καὶ ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον μέλλει χωρεῖν. Ὡσπερ γάρ ἐστιν νομίσματα δύο, τὸ μὲν Θεοῦ, τὸ δὲ κόσμου· καὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα ἐπικείμενον ἔχει, οἱ ἄπιστοι τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, οἱ δὲ πιστοὶ ἐν ἀγάπῃ χαρακτῆρα Θεοῦ Πατρὸς διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· δι' οὗ ἂν μὴ ἀνθαιρέτως ἔχομεν τὸ ἐπιθανεῖν εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος, τὸ ζῆν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν. Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes. § 5.

² Ὁ Θεὸς, ὅταν πάντας ἀναστήσῃ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν αἰωνίῳ καὶ ἀλύτῳ βασιλείᾳ ἀφθάρτους καὶ ἀθανάτους καὶ ἀλύτους καταστήσῃ, τοὺς δὲ εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον πυρὸς παραπέμψῃ. Just. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 270.

into Paradise, where they become the associates of the angels and archangels, and where they are privileged to enjoy the beatific vision of Christ the Saviour: but the souls of the unjust pass into certain regions of Hades, which have been appointed for them. Here each, in the places respectively suitable to their characters, remain under sure guardianship, until the day of resurrection and final retribution¹.

5. Hippolytus, who flourished about the year 220, is very large and copious on the same subject: and his doctrine is perfectly identical with that of the author of *Questions and Answers to the Orthodox*.

According to his account, which is evidently built upon the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, the souls of the wicked, immediately after death, are consigned to that division of Hades,

¹ Οὐχ ἦν ἔχουσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ ἐνταῦθα μετὰ τοῦ σώματος κατάστασιν, ταύτην ἔχουσι καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἔξοδον. Ἐνταῦθα μὲν γὰρ τὰ τῆς ἐνώσεως πάντα κοινὰ ὑπάρχει δυνάειον τε καὶ ἀδίκων, καὶ οὐδεμία ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς διαφορὰ κατὰ τοῦτο· οἷον τὸ γενέσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν, καὶ τὸ ὑγιαίνειν καὶ τὸ νοσεῖν, καὶ τὸ πλουτεῖν καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἔξοδον, ἐνθὺς γίνεται τῶν δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων ἡ διαστολή. "Ἀγονται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰς ἀξίους αὐτῶν τόπους· αἱ μὲν τῶν δικαίων ψυχαὶ, εἰς τὸν παράδεισον, ἔνθα συντυχία τε καὶ θέα ἀγγέλων τε καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων, κατ' ὀπτασίαν δὲ καὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ, κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον, Ἐκδημοῦντες ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἐνδημοῦντες πρὸς τὸν Κύριον· αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων ψυχαὶ, εἰς τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄδῃ τόπους—Καὶ εἰσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀξίοις αὐτῶν τόποις φυλαττόμεναι ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀνταποδόσεως. Quæst. et Respons. ad Orthod. lxxv. in Oper. Justin. p. 339.

which is dark and waste and dreary, and which locally approximates to the burning lake of Gehenna. Here they suffer temporary punishments, which continue till the day of judgment : when, after just sentence has been passed upon them, they are finally consigned to everlasting misery. But the souls of the just, immediately after death, pass into that other division of the invisible state, which is bright and glorious and luminous, and which figuratively bears the name of *Abraham's bosom*. Into this blessed region, where they have the antepast of eternal felicity laid up for them when at the last day their souls shall be reunited to their bodies, they are triumphantly conducted, upon their departure from this world, with the hymns and canticles of accompanying angels. Here they reside, in the perpetual contemplation of happiness, and in the joyful expectation of yet higher blessings which are reserved for them hereafter at the resurrection from the dead. In this place, there is neither burning nor frost : but the countenance of the holy patriarchs perpetually smiles upon them, while they are anticipating a future eternal rest and life in heaven ¹.

¹ Καὶ οὗτος μὲν ὁ περὶ δαιμόνων τόπος. Περὶ δὲ ἄδου, ἐν ᾧ συνέχονται ψυχὰι δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων, ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν.

Ὁ ἄδης τόπος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ κτίσει ἀκατασκεύαστος, χωρίον ὑπόγειον, ἐν ᾧ φῶς κόσμον οὐκ ἐπιλάμπει. Φωτὸς τοίνυν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ μὴ καταλάμποντος, ἀνάγκη σκότος διηλεκῶς τυγχάνειν.

Τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ὡς φρούριον ἀνενεμήθη ψυχαῖς· ἐφ' ᾧ κατεστάθησαν ἄγγελοι φρούροι πρὸς τὰς ἐκάστων πράξεις διανέμοντες τὰς τῶν τρόπων προσκαίρους κολάσεις.

6. Cyprian, who flourished in the middle of the third century, adopts the sentiment of the more

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ χωρίῳ, τόπος ἀφώρισταί τις, λίμνη πυρὸς ἀσβέστου· ἐν ᾧ μὲν οὐδέπω τινὰ καταβρέριφθαι ὑπειλήφαμεν· ἐσκεύασται δὲ εἰς τὴν προωρισμένην ἡμέραν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ, ἐν ἧ δικαίας κρίσεως ὑπόφασις μία πᾶσιν ἀξίως προσενεχθείη.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄδικοι, καὶ Θεῷ ἀπειθήσαντες, τά τε μάταια ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων κατεσκευασμένα εἶδωλα ὡς Θεὸν τιμήσαντες, ταύτης τῆς αἰδίου κολάσεως, ὡς αἴτιοι μiasμάτων γενόμενοι, προσκριθῶσι.

Οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι τῆς ἀφθάρτου καὶ ἀνεκλείπτου βασιλείας τύχωσιν· οἱ ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι νῦν μὲν συνέχονται, ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ ᾧ καὶ οἱ ἄδικοι.

Μία γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον κάθοδος, οὗ τῇ πύλῃ ἐφespῶτα ἀρχάγγελον ἅμα στρατιᾷ πεπιστεύκαμεν. Ἦν πύλην διελθόντες, οἱ καταγόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τεταγμένων ἀγγέλων, οὐ μιᾷ ὁδῷ πορεύονται.

Ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν δίκαιοι, εἰς δεξιὰ φωταγωγούμενοι, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφespῶτων κατὰ τόπον ἀγγέλων ὑμνούμενοι, ἄγονται εἰς χωρίον φωτεινόν· ἐν ᾧ οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δίκαιοι πολιτεύονται· οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης κρατούμενοι, ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν ὀρωμένων ἀγαθῶν θεᾶς αἰεὶ ἀπολαύοντες, καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐκάστοτε καινῶν προσδοκίᾳ ἠδόμενοι, κάκεινα τούτων βελτίω ἠγούμενοι. Οἷς ὁ τόπος οὐ καματηφόρος γίνεται· οὐ καύσων, οὐ κρύος, οὐ τρίβολος ἐν αὐτῷ· ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν πατέρων δικαίων τε ὀρωμένη ὄψις πάντοτε μειδιᾷ, ἀναμενόντων τὴν μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ αἰώνιαν ἀναβίωσιν ἐν οὐρανῷ. Τούτῳ δὲ ὄνομα κικλήσκομεν κόλπον Ἀβραάμ.

Οἱ δὲ ἄδικοι εἰς ἀριστερὰ ἔλκονται ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων κολαστῶν, οὐκέτι ἔκουσίως πορευόμενοι, ἀλλὰ μετὰ βίας ὡς δέσμοι ἐλκόμενοι. Οἷς οἱ ἐφespῶτες ἀγγελοι διαπέμπονται ὀνειδιζόντες, καὶ φοβερῶ ὄμματι ἐπαπειλοῦντες, εἰς τὰ κατώτερα ὠθοῦντες. Ἐς ἀγομένας ἔλκουσιν οἱ ἐφespῶτες ἕως πλησίον τῆς γεέννης. Οἱ ἔγγιον ὄντες τοῦ μὲν βρασμοῦ ἀδιαλείπτως ὑπακούουσι, καὶ τοῦ τῆς θερμῆς ἀτμοῦ οὐκ ἀμοιροῦσιν. Αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς ἐγγίονος ὄψεως τὴν φοβερὰν καὶ ὑπερβαλλόντως θεᾶν τοῦ πυρὸς ὀρῶντες, καταπεπήγασι, τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τῆς μελλούσης κρίσεως, ἥδη δυνάμει κυλαζόμενοι.

ancient Clement of Rome : and, by a greater expansion of the idea, precludes all danger, if indeed there could possibly be any danger, of misapprehension.

When once we have departed hence, there is no longer any place for repentance, no longer any effectiveness of satisfaction. Here, life is either lost or held : here, we may provide for our eternal salvation by the worship of God and the fruitfulness of faith. Let not any one, then, be retarded, either by sins or by length of years, from attaining to salvation. To a person, while he remains in this world, repentance is never too late. Those, who seek after and understand the truth, may always have an easy access to the indulgence of God. Even to the very end of your life, pray for your sins : and, by confession and faith, implore the one only true Deity. To him, who confesses, pardon is freely granted : to

Ἄλλὰ καὶ οὗ τῶν πατέρων χορὸν καὶ τοὺς δικαίους ὀρώσι, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κολαζόμενοι. Χάος γὰρ βάθν καὶ μέγα ἀνά μέσον ἐστήρικται, ὥστε μὴ δίκαιον συμπαθήσαντα προσδέξασθαι, μήτε ἄδικον τολμήσαντα διελθεῖν.

Οὗτος ὁ περὶ ἄδου λόγος· ἐν ᾧ ψυχὰι πάντων κατέχονται, ἄχρι καιροῦ ὃν ὁ Θεὸς ὤρισεν· ἀνάστασιν τότε πάντων ποιησόμενος, οὐ ψυχὰς μετενσωματῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα ἀνιστῶν. Hippolyt. e libr. adv. Græc. Oper. vol. i. p. 220, 221.

This Fragment has been variously attributed to Irenæus and Origen and the presbyter Caius : the probability is, that it belongs to Hippolytus. In point of testimony, this is of no consequence. The fragment, whichever of the early Fathers was its author, is fatal to the alleged antiquity and primeval reception of the doctrine of Purgatory.

him, who believes, a salutary indulgence is granted from the divine pity ; and, EVEN IN THE VERY ARTICLE OF DEATH, HE PASSES TO IMMORTALITY ¹.

III. In the primitive Church, as I have already had occasion to state, an opinion, built upon an obscure place in the Apocalypse, very early prevailed : that *Martyrs and confessors and men eminent for their evangelical piety would rise again from the dead at what was esteemed a first and partial resurrection ; while the rest of mankind would not be resuscitated until the general resurrection in the day of final consummation.* Hence it became customary to offer prayers for the dead, not that they might be prematurely extricated from an imaginary Purgatory, but that they might participate of the first or particular resurrection instead of waiting for the ultimate or general resurrection ².

¹ Quando istinc excessum fuerit, nullus jam pœnitentiæ locus est, nullus satisfactionis effectus. Hic, vita aut amittitur, aut tenetur : hic, saluti æternæ, cultu Dei et fructu fidei, providetur. Nec quisquam, aut peccatis, retardetur, aut annis, quo minus veniat ad consequendam salutem. In isto adhuc mundo manenti, pœnitentia nulla sera est. Patet ad indulgentiam Dei aditus : et, quærentibus atque intelligentibus veritatem, facilis accessus est. Tu, sub ipso licet exitu et vitæ temporalis occasu, pro delictis roges : et Deum, qui unus et verus est, confessione et fide agnitionis ejus implores. Venia confidenti datur : et credenti indulgentia salutaris de divina pietate conceditur : et *ad immortalitatem, sub ipsa morte, transitur.* Cyprian. ad Demetrian. Oper. vol. i. p. 196. See also Cyprian. Epist. xii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 27, 28.

² See above, book i. chap. 5. § III. 3. (1.)

1. This opinion, which at the best reposes only upon a text of disputed interpretation, the speculative genius of Tertullian could not suffer to rest in its pristine simplicity.

If to participate in the first resurrection, he argued, be a privilege: then, conversely, to wait for the ultimate resurrection must be a punishment. This penal delay, therefore, must be viewed as an expiation of offences committed in the flesh: and, accordingly, to such expiation our Lord alluded, when, in the parable, he spake of a person being cast into a prison, whence he should not be suffered to depart until he had paid the very last farthing¹.

Had Tertullian advanced his speculation, merely as a conjecture of his own; it might, UNAUTHORITATIVELY, have been suffered to avail as far as it *could* avail: but, unhappily, he had the daring presumption to claim for it the sanction of the Paraclete². And now let us mark, what, in the progress of time, has gradually followed. The notion of a *penal expiation after death*, advanced by Tertullian, when he had lapsed into the heresy of fanatical Montanism, as a frequent revelation

¹ In summa, quum carcerem illum, quod Evangelium demonstrat, inferos intelligimus; et novissimum quadrantem, modicum quoque delictum mora resurrectionis illic luendum interpretamur: nemo dubitabit, animam aliquid pensare penes inferos, salva resurrectionis plenitudine, per carnem quoque. Tertull. de anim. Oper. p. 689.

² Hoc etiam Paracletus frequentissimè commendavit. Tertull. de anim. Oper. p. 689.

of the Holy Spirit, has since been stamped, by the no less fanatical infallibility of the Tridentine Fathers, with the seal of indisputable orthodoxy¹.

2. This idle and enthusiastic phantasy, when once started, even though started by an individual both *after* his lapse into heresy and upon the very basis of the heresy into which he *had* lapsed, was not suffered, in the gradual corruption of the once sincere Church, to lie silently dormant.

It is mentioned with grave approbation by Cyril of Jerusalem, who flourished about the middle of the fourth century: though he fairly confesses, that *MANY even then denied, that the souls of the departed, whether they quitted this world with sin or without sin, could be at all benefited by the prayer offered up, on their behalf, over what he calls, in the novel fashionable phraseology of the day, the holy and most tremendous sacrifice.* He defends and illustrates the heresy-propped speculation of Tertullian, which that writer professed to have received from the Paraclete after he had become a Montanist, by the supposed case of a king, who had banished from his presence certain of his rebellious subjects, but who had afterward been per-

¹ Concil. Trident. sess. xxv. p. 505, 506. In connection with Christianity, the doctrine of a *Purgatory for the purification of souls* was first started by Simon Magus. See Epiph. cont. hæer. hæer. xxi. It was held also by the Manichæans, who had clearly borrowed it from the reveries of ancient oriental Paganism. See my Hor. Mosaic. vol. ii. p. 197—203. 2d edit. See also Epiph. cont. hæer. hæer. 66.

sueded at the instance of their friends and relatives to remit their punishment¹.

3. The same notion, though with greater speciality, is advanced by Ambrose, who flourished during the last quarter of the fourth century.

He thinks, that those, whose sins have not been expiated in this life, will experience a purgatorial fire in the course of the time which elapses between the first and the final resurrection : and he adds, that the punishment of some will extend even beyond the final resurrection, if they shall not have completed the entire length of the intermediate period².

Here, with a lamentable misapprehension of the true and only principle of meritorious expiation,

¹ Εἶτα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν προκεκοιμημένων ἀγίων πατέρων καὶ ἐπισκόπων καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν προκεκοιμημένων, μεγίστην ὄνησιν πιστεύοντες ἔσεσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ δέησις ἀναφέρεται τῆς ἀγίας καὶ φρικωδεστάτης προκειμένης θυσίας. Καὶ βούλομαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ ὑποδείγματος πείσαι· οἶδα γὰρ ΠΟΛΛΟΥΣ τοῦτο λέγοντας, Τί ὠφελεῖται ψυχή, μετὰ ἁμαρτημάτων ἀπαλλασσομένη τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου, ἢ οὐ μεθ' ἁμαρτημάτων, ἐὰν ἐπὶ τῆς προσευχῆς μνημονεύητε; "Αρα γὰρ, εἴ τις βασιλεὺς προσκεκροκότας αὐτῷ, ἐξορίστους ποιήσειεν· εἶτα οἱ τούτοις διαφέροντες, στέφανον πλέξαντες ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τιμωρίαις, αὐτῷ τοῦτον προσενεγκεῖεν· οὐκ ἂν αὐτοῖς ἄνεσιν δῶη τῶν κολάσεων; Cyril. Hieros. Catech. Mystag. v. p. 241.

² Qui autem non veniunt ad primam resurrectionem, sed ad secundam reservantur : isti urentur, donec impleant tempora inter primam et secundam resurrectionem ; aut, si non impleverint, diutius in supplicio permanebunt. Ideo ergo rogemus, ut in prima resurrectione partem habere mereamur. Ambros. Enarr. in Psalm. I. Oper. col. 1286.

we have direct mention of a *purgatorial fire*, respecting which the two older writers, Tertullian and Cyril, notwithstanding that the former claimed to have received his doctrine from the Paraclete, say nothing distinct and specific.

4. The times of Augustine immediately succeed the times of his master Ambrose: and it is not a little remarkable, that, although Ambrose had expressed his sentiments with a considerable degree of positiveness, his pupil Augustine evinces a very odd sort of hesitation respecting the whole matter, which clearly enough indicates, that, in *his* days, the superstition had not been perfectly digested, though it was gradually acquiring strength and consistency.

(1.) In his *Treatise on Faith and Works*, that great Father of the Western Church remarks: that, *From the passage in which St. Paul speaks of the fire trying every man's work and of the individual himself being saved yet so as by fire, SOME deduced the opinion; that persons, who had built wood or hay or stubble upon the true foundation, might, through certain fiery punishments, be purified, so as to receive finally, by the merits of that foundation, the privilege of ultimate beatitude.* Hence he allows, that, if such be really the case, those persons do well, who would admit *all* comers indiscriminately, both good and bad, to the rite of Baptism. But then he at the same time maintains, that, if such a mode of inductive reasoning from a very obscure passage be admitted, the in-

evitable result will be : that numerous passages, which are neither obscure nor ambiguous, will stand convicted of speaking falsely. The plain consequence, therefore, is : that the interpretation of the obscure passage, for which SOME contend, cannot possibly be its true interpretation ¹.

Here, unless I wholly misunderstand him, Augustine, upon the very rational principle that *Obscure texts must be expounded in dependent harmony with texts which are not obscure*, denies the doctrine of a Purgatory.

(2.) Yet, in one of his discourses, we find him employing phraseology, which certainly imports, that, at *that* time, he had at least adopted some such indefinite speculation as that advocated by Tertullian and Cyril of Jerusalem.

¹ Quod (scil. 1 Corinth. iii. 10—15.) quidam ita intelligendum putant, ut illi videantur ædificare, super hoc fundamentum, aurum, argentum, lapides preciosos, qui fidei quæ in Christo est bona opera adjiciunt : illi, autem, fœnum, ligna, stipulam ; qui, cum eandem fidem habeant, male operantur. Unde arbitratur, per quasdam pœnas ignis eos posse purgari ad salutem percipiendam merito fundamenti—Si ergo hæc omnia (scil. 1 Corinth. xiii. 1. Jacob. ii. 14. 1 Corinth. vi. 9, 10. Galat. v. 19—21. 1 Pet. iii. 21. Matt. xix. 17. Jacob. ii. 20. Matt. xxv. 37, 41. 1 Corinth. xiii. 3.), et cætera quæ innumerabilia per omnes Scripturas sine ambiguitate dicta reperiri possunt, falsa erunt : poterit verus esse ille intellectus de lignis et fœno et stipula, quod hi salvi erunt per ignem, qui, solam in Christum fidem tenentes, bona opera neglexerunt. Si autem ista et vera et clara sunt : proculdubio, in illa Apostoli sententia alius requirendus est intellectus. August. de Fid. et Oper. c. xv. Oper. vol. iv. p. 28, 29.

Beyond all doubt, the dead are assisted, by the prayers of Holy Church, and by the salutary sacrifice, and by the alms which are given for the repose of their souls ; so that the Lord may deal with them more mercifully than their sins deserve : for this has been handed down by the Fathers, and is observed by the whole Church—Such exercises most assuredly profit the dead : but then those persons only are benefited, who have so lived before death, that these things may be useful to them after death¹.

(3.) So again, in his *Treatise on the eight Questions of Dulcitius*, with most infelicitous disregard of the very opinion expressed by himself in his *Treatise on Faith and Works*, he half inclines to think : that the fire, which St. Paul mentions as burning the defective works of a Christian though the Christian himself is saved as by fire, may perhaps be a Purgatory ; through the fire of which all must pass alike, whether they have built upon

¹ Orationibus vero sanctæ Ecclesiæ, et sacrificio salutari, et eleemosynis, quæ pro eorum spiritibus erogantur, non est dubitandum mortuos adjuvari : ut cum eis misericordius agatur a Domino, quam eorum peccata meruerunt. Hoc enim a Patribus traditum universa observat Ecclesia, ut, pro eis qui in corporis et sanguinis Christi communionem defuncti sunt, cum ad ipsum sacrificium loco suo commemorantur, oretur, ac pro illis quoque id offerri commemoretur—Non omnino ambigendum est, ista prodesse defunctis ; sed talibus, qui ita vixerint ante mortem, ut possint eis hæc utilia esse post mortem. August. serm. xxxii. Oper. vol. x. p. 138.

Perhaps it may be asked : Is this a genuine homily of Augustine ? It occurs in the Works of Bede.

the true foundation gold and silver and precious stones, or whether they have only accumulated upon it wood and hay and stubble.

*That some such thing as this occurs after the present life, is far, he observes, from being incredible*¹.

(4.) But, when he comes to treat directly of Purgatory itself, though still, with the same lamentable inconsistency, relying for his scriptural proof upon the self-same obscure and perfectly indecisive passage of St. Paul; he speaks with almost as much positiveness, as if, in accordance with the vain pretence of the enthusiastic Tertullian, the silence of Christ had been subsequently remedied by a special revelation from heaven to himself in particular.

By that transitory fire, concerning which the Apostle says; He himself shall be saved, yet so as through fire: not deadly, but only minute, sins are purged—Whoever is conscious that any deadly sin rules within him, that person, unless he shall have worthily reformed himself, and (if space be afforded him) shall have done penance for a long time and shall have been bountiful in alms-giving and shall have abstained from his sins: that person cannot be

¹ Tale aliquid etiam post hanc vitam fieri incredibile non est: et, utrum ita sit, quæri potest. Et aut inveniri, aut latere, nonnullos fideles per ignem quendam purgatorium, quanto magis minusve bona pereuntia dilexerunt, tanto tardius citiusve salvari? August. de octo Dulcit. quæst. Oper. vol. iv. p. 250.

purged in the transitory fire, concerning which the Apostle speaks ; but the eternal fire will torment him without any remedy. As for minute sins, though they cannot slay the soul, yet they so deform it by a sort of leprosy, that, with difficulty, or at least with great confusion, they suffer it to receive the embrace of the heavenly bridegroom—Let such sins, then, be redeemed, by continual prayer, and by frequent fasting, and by larger alms, and above all by the forgiveness of our enemies : lest, when accumulated, they should sink the soul into perdition. But, whatever of those sins shall not have been thus redeemed, it must be purged in the fire mentioned by the Apostle—On this principle, if we thank God for depriving us of our friends or of our substance, confessing with true humility that we suffer less than we deserve : our sins will be purged in this present world ; so that, in the future world, that purgatorial fire shall find, either nothing, or certainly but little, to burn away. But, if we neither give thanks unto God in tribulation, nor buy off our sins by good works : we must, under such circumstances, remain in the fire of Purgatory just so long a time, as it may require to burn away our smaller sins, like wood and hay and stubble¹.

¹ Illo enim transitorio igne, de quo dixit Apostolus ; *Ipse autem salvus erit, sed tamen quasi per ignem* : non capitalia, sed minuta, peccata purgantur—Quicumque enim aliqua de istis peccatis in se dominari cōgnoverit : nisi dignè se emendaverit, et, si habuerit spatium, longo tempore pœnitentiam egerit, et largas eleemosynas erogaverit, et a peccatis ipsis

(5.) Thus, after much vacillation (a vacillation, which plainly could never have occurred, had the modern latin doctrine been *invariably* the familiar doctrine of the *entire* Catholic Church *from the very beginning*), Augustine seems finally to have adopted, so far as *principle* is concerned, the identical dogma of a future Purgatory which is now held by the Church of Rome.

abstinuerit; illo transitorio igne, de quo ait Apostolus, purgari non poterit, sed æterna illum flamma sine ullo remedio cruciabit. Quæ autem sint minuta peccata, licet omnibus nota sint: tamen, quia longum est ut omnia replicentur, opus est, ut eis vel aliqua nominemus—Quibus peccatis licet occidi animam non credamus, ita tamen eam, velut quibusdam pastulis et quasi horrenda scabie repleta, deformem faciunt, ut eam ad amplexus illius sponsi cœlestis aut vix aut cum grandi confusione venire permittant—Et ideo, continuis orationibus, et frequentibus jejuniis, et largioribus eleemosynis, et præcipuè per indulgentiam eorum qui in nos peccant, assiduè redimantur: ne forte, simul collecta, cumulum faciant, et demergant animam. Quicquid enim de istis peccatis a nobis redemptum non fuerit, illo igne purgandum est, de quo dixit Apostolus—Aut enim, dum in hoc mundo vivimus, ipsi nos per pœnitentiam fatigamus: aut, certè volente aut permittente Deo, multis tribulationibus pro istis peccatis affligimur: et, si Deo gratias agimus, liberamur. Quod ita fit, si, quotiens maritus, aut uxor, aut filius, moritur; vel si substantia, quæ a nobis plus quam oportet amatur, aufertur—Tamen, si Deo, qui illam a nobis auferri velut pius pater permittit, tanquam boni filii gratias agamus, et minus nos pati quam meremur cum vera humilitate proferamus: ita peccata ipsa in hoc seculo purgantur; ut, in futuro, ille ignis purgatorius aut non inveniatur, aut certè parum inveniatur, quod exurat. Si, autem, nec in tribulatione Deo gratias agimus, nec bonis operibus peccata

Yet, though, in *principle*, the Purgatory of Augustine is the same as the Purgatory of the Latins: in its *arrangement*, it differs most widely and most essentially.

According to the theory of the Roman Church, the soul, *immediately* after its separation from the body, passes into a *present* Purgatory: yet the duration and intensity of its sufferings, in that place of expiatory torment, may be abbreviated and relaxed by the prayers of the living.

But, according to the theory of Augustine, the purgatorial fire, through which the leprous soul is doomed to pass, is the fire which consumes the world at the still *future* day of judgment: whence it would follow, that the prayers for the dead, recommended by that Father, are not prayers by which the soul may be liberated from a *present* Purgatory; but that they are prayers, which may avail to give the soul a better passage through the yet *future* transitory fire at the general consummation¹.

redimimus: ipsi tamdiu in illo purgatorio igne moras habebimus, quamdiu supradicta peccata minuta, tanquam ligna, fœnum, stipula, consumantur. August. de Ign. Purgat. serm. iv. Oper. vol. x. p. 382.

¹ Vespera autem illa *fnis est seculi*; et caminus ille, *veniens dies iudicii*: divisit, inter media illa quæ divisa erant, etiam caminus—Sunt ergo quidam carnales, et tamen Ecclesiæ gremio continentur, viventes secundum quendam modum suum—Quicumque talis permanserit, et secundum quendam modum vitæ aptum carnalibus, et de gremio Ecclesiæ non recesserit, et non fuerit seductus ab hæreticis, ut ex contraria parte divi-

IV. The difference is striking: and it is a difference, which, in point of chronological arrangement equally applies to the older, though still singularly varying, theories of Tertullian and Ambrose.

Tertullian, from the revelation of the Paraclete, contended for a sort of *negative* Purgatory; which consisted rather in a delay of final complete hap-

datur: veniet caminus; et ad dexteram poni, sine camino, non poterit. Sed, si caminum pati non vult, pergat in turturam et columbam. Qui potest capere, capiat. Si autem non sic erit; et ædificaverit, super fundamentum, ligna, fœnum, stipulam; id est, amores seculares, fundamento fidei suæ, superædificaverit: tamen, si in fundamento sit Christus, ut primum locum ipse habeat in corde et ei nihil omnino anteponatur; portantur tales, tolerantur et tales. Veniet caminus: incendet ligna, fœnum, stipulam. *Ipse autem, inquit, salvus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem.* August. Enarr. in Psalm. ciii. conc. 3. Oper. vol. viii. p. 430.

Qualis tunc erit velut aurea per ventilationem, ita *per iudicium purgata novissimum*, eis quoque igne mundatis, quibus talis mundatio necessaria est. August. de Civ. Dei. lib. xx. c. 25. Oper. vol. v. p. 253.

Nunquid dicturus est quispiam hoc fidei tempus illi fini esse coæquandum, quando *igne iudicii novissimi* mundabuntur, qui offerant hostias in justitia? Ibid. c. 26. p. 253.

It is not improbable, that Augustine may have borrowed this notion from a conjectural hint, which had been previously thrown out by Origen. See Orig. adv. Cels. lib. iv. p. 168, 169. lib. v. p. 240, 241. lib. vi. p. 292, 293. The idea itself seems to have been ultimately taken from those successive purgatorial catastrophes of the world, whether by a deluge of water or by a deluge of fire, which constitute so conspicuous a feature in many of the ancient systems of theological philosophy, both oriental and occidental. See Orig. adv. Cels. lib. iv. p. 173. lib. v. p. 244, 245.

piness, than in any actual suffering of positive torment: and this *negative* Purgatory, in which less perfect souls are doomed to make expiation, until they shall have paid the last farthing, by severely experiencing that delayed hope which maketh the heart sick, he placed *chronologically* between the first and the ultimate resurrection.

Ambrose (though, where he learned the doctrine, does not appear) contended for a *positive* fiery Purgatory: and this *positive* Purgatory; which now, so far as I am aware, first makes its appearance, unless indeed something of the sort be *insinuated* by Cyril of Jerusalem; he similarly placed between the two supposed successive resurrections, though in some cases he would extend it even beyond the ultimate.

Augustine, when at length, after much hesitation and after a total abandonment of his apparently original opinion, he had adopted the speculation of a *positive* fiery Purgatory, chose, in his *chronological* arrangement of it, to differ both from Tertullian and from Ambrose: for, instead of placing it between the first and ultimate resurrection, he made it an appendage and concomitant of the final day of judgment; supposing his *positive* purgatorial fire to be no other, than the fire which will consume the universe.

Now, had the modern latin doctrine of Purgatory been the doctrine of the Catholic Church *from the very beginning*, it were impossible that these strange *variations* could have occurred. As

Tertullian and Ambrose and Augustine mutually differ from each other : so, at present, does the Church of Rome differ from all the three. But this could never have taken place, had the modern latin speculation been the *universally received doctrine* of the primitive Church. Therefore, even to say nothing of the direct testimonies *against* the unscriptural dogma of Purgatory, it is abundantly clear, from the very fact of *ascertained variation*, that that dogma, as now held and enforced by the innovating Church of Rome, was completed, only by slow degrees, and in the lapse of a considerable period.

CHAPTER VI.

SAINT-WORSHIP, IMAGE-WORSHIP, RELIC-WORSHIP,
CROSS-WORSHIP.

GRAVELY to sit down, for the purpose of demonstrating from Scripture that *The worship of any being save God is expressly prohibited*, were mere trifling: for, in the present day, it would be a plain waste of time, which might be much more profitably employed.

The Bible knows nothing of those paganising distinctions between *relative worship* and *positive worship*, by which the Church of Rome vainly attempts to hide the deformity of her apostatic superstition: a superstition, which, *in actual practice*, and even *on the authority of some of her ablest members*, is ever running into the most direct and most offensive idolatry¹. On the con-

¹ To the abominations already noticed above, the reader may add the following notable decision of Gabriel Biel.

Si fuerint imagines Christi; *adorantur eadem specie qua Christus*, id est, *adoratione latricæ*: si, beatissimæ Virginis; hyperdulæ. Gabr. Biel. super can. Miss. lect. 49.

trary, as the Bible condemns the voluntary and unrequired humility of worshipping beatified spi-

Was this Gabriel ever censured by his ecclesiastical superiors for his gross inculcation of idolatry? If Dr. Trevern and Mr. Husenbeth wish to repel the charge preferred against their Church, let them produce the regular censure of the present most impudent culprit. The truth is, that, let the matter be speculatively disguised as it may, the pretended *relative worship* of images perpetually; in practice, runs into *the vilest idolatry*. For instance, can the two following prayers, to a senseless image and an equally senseless cross, be viewed, by plain common sense, under any other aspect?

Salve sancta facies nostri Redemptoris, in qua nitet species divini splendoris, impressa nivei candoris! Salve vultus Domini imago beata! *Nos deduc ad propria, O felix figura!*

Ave crux, spes unica! *Auge piis justitiam, reisque dona veniam.*

The former of these two worse than silly prayers is addressed, I suppose, to the pretended impression of our Lord's countenance on the two several napkins of Agbarus and Veronica: for *that* seems to be the image there invoked. Aringhi plainly tells us, without the least censure either from Pope or Cardinal, that this vain idol, is at once preserved as a bulwark against mad image-breakers, and is offered to the faithful *to be by them adored*.

Imaginem hanc ab Edessenorum civitate translata, condigno ad hæc usque tempora venerationis cultu in divi Silvestri ecclesia, veluti divinum quid et perenne sacrarum imaginum monumentum, pariter ac propugnaculum adversus insanos iconoclastas asservari, et *suscipiendam fidelibus ADORANDAMQUE proferri*. Aring. Rom. Subt. vol. ii. lib. v. c. 4.

As a specimen of the trickery by which this contemptible idolatry is supported and advanced, Aringhi gravely tells us: that *The images of the Blessed Virgin shine out continually by new and daily miracles, to the comfort of their votaries and to*

rits: so it condemns all image-worship, on the plea, not only of its particular impiety, but likewise of its universal absurdity; thus plainly, by the very necessity of its phraseology, making no difference between *popish images of saints* and *pagan images of false divinities*¹.

Omitting, then, the superfluity of a formal confutation from Scripture, I shall rather employ myself in establishing the historical FACT: that *The early Church disavowed and rejected those corruptions of Saint-worship and Image-worship and Relic-worship and Cross-worship, which, however disguised and modified by vain explanations, are now the vindicated and established opprobrium of the Church of Rome.*

I. The first in order, among such abominations, comes the practice of *Saint-worship*: which includes, on the one hand, the worship of the Virgin Mary; and, on the other hand, the worship of the angels.

the confusion of all gainsayers. He adds: *Within these few years, under every Pope successively, some or other of our sacred images, especially of the more ancient, have made themselves illustrious, and have acquired A PECULIAR WORSHIP AND VENERATION, by the exhibition of fresh signs; as it is notorious to all, who dwell in this city.* He then gives us a most ridiculous account of a miracle-working picture of St. Dominic, which (an't please you) came down from heaven in the year of grace 1530. Ibid. vol. ii. p. 464.

¹ See, in particular, the magnificently contemptuous passage in Habak. ii. 18—20. See also Isaiah xlv. 9—20.

1. From the notorious circumstance of our Lord being universally invocated, the early Christians not unfrequently prove, in the way of professed argument, his true and essential divinity: and they rest their proof, partly upon the scriptural illegality of invocating any being save God, and partly upon the absurdity of fancying that any being save God can hear invocations addressed to him from every quarter of the universe.

Now this argument were palpably inconclusive, if the persons, who employed it, had *themselves* habitually invocated either angels or the souls of departed saints.

Therefore such persons, by the very drift and necessary purport of their reasoning, could not have indulged in that vain and bootless superstition.

(1) *If Christ were only a man, argues Novatian about the middle of the third century; how, when invocated, is he every where present: for omnipresence is the nature, not of man, but of God? If Christ were only a man; why, in our prayers, is a man invocated as our mediator: since, to afford us salvation, the invocation of a man may well be deemed inefficacious*¹.

¹ Si homo tantummodo Christus, quomodo adest ubique invocatus; cum hæc hominis natura non sit, sed Dei, ut adesce omni loco possit? Si homo tantummodo Christus, cur homo in orationibus mediator invocatur, cum invocatio hominis ad præstandam salutem inefficax judicetur. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 610.

(2.) *We are truly worshippers of God*, says Athanasius in the fourth century : *because we invoke no one of the creatures nor any mere man, but the Son who is by nature from God and true God ; made man indeed, yet not the less therefore the Lord himself and God and Saviour. Who would not justly admire this being : or who would not collect, that he must needs be somewhat truly divine* ¹ ?

2. With the obvious and necessary purport of this general argument (an argument perfectly conclusive in the mouth of an Anglican, but an argument which can never be employed either with cogency or with consistency by a modern Romanist), agree the direct testimonies of the ancient theologians.

(1.) We may first hear, against the worship of the saints, the testimony of Augustine.

Let not our point of religion be the worship of dead men. For, though they lived piously ; still they are not to be so accounted of, as requiring from us any such honours : but they rather wish us to worship him, through whose illumination they rejoice that we should be partners of their merit. They are to be honoured, therefore, on account of imita-

¹ Ἄλλὰ ἀληθῶς θεοσεβεῖς, ὅτι μηδένα τῶν γενητῶν μὴ δὲ κοινὸν τινὰ ἄνθρωπον· ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ φύσει καὶ ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν Υἱόν· τοῦτον δὲ γενόμενον ἄνθρωπον, οὐδὲν ἦττον Κύριον αὐτὸν καὶ Θεὸν καὶ Σωτῆρα, ἐπικαλούμεθα. Τοῦτο δὲ τίς οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσειεν· ἢ τίς οὐκ ἂν σύνθετο θεῖον ἀληθῶς εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα ; Athan. contr. Arian. Orat. iv. Oper. vol. i. p. 275.

tion; not to be prayed to, on account of religion¹.

(2.) Let us next, against the worship of angels, hear the testimony of Origen.

Having learned to call those beings angels, from their official character of messengers; we find them also, in the Sacred Scriptures, styled gods, on account of their being divine. Yet they are not so styled, as if we were commanded to venerate and to worship them in the place of God; since they are only mere ministering agents, who convey to us God's blessings. For all supplication and prayer and intercession and thanksgiving we must offer up to God who is above all, through the living Word and God who is a high-priest superior to all angels—To invoke angels, indeed, when men know so little about them, were itself irrational: but, even on the supposition that we were, ever so well acquainted with such mysterious wonders; still this very supposed knowledge, while it was setting forth their nature and their respective offices, would forbid us presumptuously to pray to any other than the all-sufficient Deity through the Son of God our Saviour².

¹ Non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum. Quia, si pie vixerunt, non sic habentur, ut tales quærant honores: sed illum a nobis coli volunt, quo illuminante lætantur meriti sui nos esse consortes. Honorandi sunt ergo propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem. August. de ver. relig. c. lv. Oper. vol. i. p. 317.

² Τούτους δὴ ἀγγέλους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου αὐτῶν μεμαθηκότες καλεῖν, εὐρίσκομεν αὐτοὺς, διὰ τὸ θείου εἶναι, καὶ θεοὺς ἐν ταῖς

(3.) Let us next, against the worship of the Virgin Mary specifically, hear the testimony of Epiphanius.

After censuring at great length the collyridian heretics for invoking the Virgin as a sort of goddess, and after declaring that Christians ought not indecorously to venerate the saints but rather him who is their sovereign lord and master: he sums up the whole with the following most wholesome admonition.

*Let Mary be held in honour: but let the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost be worshipped. As for Mary, let no one worship her*¹.

ἰεραῖς ποτὲ ὀνομαζομένους γραφαῖς. Ἄλλ' οὐχ ὥστε προστάσσειν ἡμῖν τοὺς διακονοῦντας, καὶ φέροντας ἡμῖν τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, σέβειν καὶ προσκυνεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Πᾶσαν μὲν γὰρ δέησιν καὶ προσευχὴν καὶ ἔντευξιν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ἀναπεμπτόν τῳ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῳ, διὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων ἀγγέλων ἀρχιερέως, ἐμψύχου Λόγου καὶ Θεοῦ—Ἀγγέλους γὰρ καλέσαι μὴ ἀναλαβόντας τὴν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιστήμην, οὐκ εὐλογον' ἵνα δὲ καὶ καθ' ὑπόθεσιν ἢ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιστήμη, θαυμάσιός τις οὔσα καὶ ἀπόρρητος, καταληφθῆ' αὕτη ἢ ἐπιστήμη, παραστήσασα τὴν φύσιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐφ' οἷς εἰσιν ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι, οὐκ ἔάσει ἄλλω θαρρῆεν εὐχεσθαι, ἢ τῳ πρὸς πάντα διαρκῆ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῳ, διὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. v. p. 233.

¹ Ἐν τὴν ἔστω Μάρια· ὁ δὲ Πατὴρ, καὶ Υἱὸς, καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, προσκυνεῖσθω τὴν Μαρῖαν μηδεὶς προσκυνεῖτω. Epiph. cont. hæ. lib. iii. tom. ii. hæ. 79. See also hæ. 78.

Epiphanius strongly reprehends the then nascent heresy of worshipping the Virgin in the place of a divinity: ἀντὶ θεοῦ ταύτην παρεισάγειν ἐσπουδακότας καὶ σπουδάζοντας. Yet, in the lamentably corrupt practice of modern Rome, Mary, as we learn from the Office of the Blessed Virgin, is invoked as

II. From *Saint-worship*, let us proceed to *Image-worship*.

1. The early Christians perpetually ridiculed the image-worship of the Pagans, as the very quintessence of unmingled absurdity: nor did

the Queen of heaven. Ave Regina cœlorum! This shameless idolatry is a precise adaptation, to the Virgin Mary, of the identical worship, formerly offered up to Astoreth or Isis under the self-same title of *the Queen of heaven*. See Jerem. xlv. 17.

The nature of the worship is but too evident from a scandalous perversion of the whole book of the Psalms, which I remember to have myself once encountered. Some zealous adorer of this paganised *Queen of heaven* had actually travestied all the Psalms, by throughout industriously introducing the name of *Mary* in the place of the name of *Jehovah*!

How *in practice* the Virgin is worshipped, appears from an inscription, placed, without any reprehension or censure, over the principal gate of one of the great churches of Florence in the year 1711.

Janua cœlestis beneficii. Janua salutis. Ipsam Virginem attendite. Transite ad me omnes, qui concupiscitis me—Qui me invenerit, inveniet vitam, et hauriet salutem a Domino. *Nemo enim est, qui salvus fiat, O sanctissima, nisi per te. Nemo est, qui liberetur a malis, nisi per te. Nemo est, cujus misereatur gratia, nisi per te*—Maria, profecto, omnibus misericordiæ sinum aperit, *ut de plenitudine ejus accipiant universi: captivus, redemptionem; æger, curationem; tristis, consolationem; peccator, veniam; justus, gratiam; angelus, lætitiâ; tota Trinitas, gloriam*. See Middeton's Letter from Rome. Pref. Disc. p. 45.

With this detestable blasphemy, which, as Epiphanius speaks, exhibits the Virgin in the place of a divinity, the idolatrous prayers in her Office but too faithfully correspond.

Salve, Regina! Mater misericordiæ, vita, dulcedo, et spes nostra, salve! Ad te clamamus, exules filii Evæ!

they ridicule it one jot the less, when the Pagans vindicated the silly practice on the precise ground that the Romanists still continue to vindicate it ; on the ground, namely, that *The worship was not absolute but relative*, or (as the Tridentine Fathers express it) that *The honour paid to the images is referred to the prototypes which the images represent*.

Now, from the very necessity of the case, it is obvious, that persons, who thus ridiculed *all* image-worship whether *positive* or *relative*, could by no possibility have been *themselves* image-worshippers under *any* aspect or under *any* modified explanation : for, if *they*, either *positively* or *relatively*, had worshipped (as the Council of Trent speaks) the images of Christ and the virgin mother of God and the other saints ; they would plainly have subjected themselves to a complete and most triumphant retort courteous from the Pagans, whom they inconsistently ridiculed for doing the very thing, which they were all the while doing *themselves*.

Nor would any distinction, which they might have been pleased to draw between *christian saints* and *heathen gods*, have in the least saved them from the force of the well merited retort. If the relative worship of images, as avowedly practised by the Pagans, were *in itself* a fitting subject of just ridicule : the relative worship of images, as confessedly practised by the Christians, must *in itself* be equally deserving of indignant satire.

The ridicule of the early ecclesiastical writers touched the *inherent* absurdity of image-worship *as such*: whether that worship were *positive*, as it was doubtless practised by the besotted vulgar; or whether it were *relative*, as the educated Pagans delighted to explain it. Hence, had they *themselves* been consciously addicted to image-worship either *positive* or *relative*, they could never have dared to ridicule the *self-same* practice on the part of the Pagans: or, had they strangely adventured upon so palpable an inconsistency, they could by no possibility have escaped the hearty and joyous laugh of the perfect retort courteous.

You Christians ridicule *our* image-worship forsooth, on the professed ground of its *absolute* and *inherent* absurdity: and yet your own churches are actually crowded with images, to which you offer up that identical relative worship which in *our* case you take upon yourselves to deride. Let Clodius reform himself, ere he kindly undertake the reformation of others.

Were I an African or a Hindoo, such assuredly would be the answer which *I* should make to a latin missionary; who, with the tridentine decision in his mouth and with a worshipped crucifix in his hand, should rashly attempt to ridicule the venerable and ancient image-worship of my remote forefathers.

Let us now attend to the language and the reasoning of the old ecclesiastical writers.

(1.) *It were absurd, says Clement of Alexandria, as the very philosophers confess, that man, who is the plaything of God, should make God: it were absurd, that the Deity himself should be made by a childish contrivance. For that, which is produced, must needs be similar to that, from which it is produced—But images, wrought by mean artizans, are produced from worthless materials. Therefore, they themselves must be worthless and material and profane*¹.

(2.) *When the devil, says Tertullian, introduced into the world manufacturers of statues and images and representations of every description: that rude trafficking of human calamity derived both its name and its profit from idols. Hence every art, which produces an idol in whatsoever manner, becomes the head of idolatry—Consequently, every form or diminutive image must be called an idol—God prohibited, as much the making of an idol, as the worshipping of it—Wherefore, to eradicate the very substratum of idolatry, the divine Law proclaims; Ye shall not make an idol: and it forthwith subjoins to this proclamation; Nor the likeness of the things,*

¹ Γελοῖον μὲν τ' ἂν εἴη, ὡς αὐτοὶ φασιν οἱ φιλόσοφοι, ἄνθρωπον ὄντα παίγιον Θεοῦ Θεὸν ἐργάζεσθαι, καὶ γίγνεσθαι παιδιᾶς τέχνης τὸν Θεόν· ἐπεὶ τὸ γινόμενον, ταῦτόν καὶ ὅμοιον τῷ ἐξ οὗ γίνεται—Τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων βαναύσων κατασκευαζόμενα ἀγάλματα τε καὶ ἱερὰ ἐκ τῆς ὕλης τῆς ἀργῆς γίνεται· ὥστε καὶ αὐτὰ ἂν εἴη ἀργὰ καὶ ὕλικὰ καὶ βέβηλα. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vii. Oper. p. 714.

which are in heaven, and which are in earth, and which are in the sea ¹.

(3.) *We, says Origen, deem those the most ignorant: who are not ashamed, to address lifeless things, to petition the weak for health, to ask life from the dead, to pray for help from the most despicably needy. And, though some may allege, that these images are not gods but only their symbols and representations: even such persons, fancying that imitations of the Deity can be made by the hands of some mean artizan, are not a whit less ignorant and slavish and uninstructed. From this sottish stupidity, the very lowest and least informed of us Christians are exempt* ².

¹ Ubi artifices statuarum et imaginum et omnis generis simulachrorum diabolus seculo intulit; rude illud negotium humanæ calamitatis, et nomen de idolis, consequutum est, et profectum. Exinde jam caput facta est idololatriæ ars omnis, quæ idolum quoque modo edit—Igitur omnis forma vel formula idolum se dici exposcit—Idolum tam fieri quam coli Deus prohibet—Propter hanc causam, ad eradicandam scilicet materiam idololatriæ, Lex divina proclamat; *Ne feceritis idolum*: et conjungens; *Neque similitudinem eorum, quæ in cælo sunt, et quæ in terra, et quæ in mari.* Tertull. de Idol. Oper. p. 729.

Tertullian seems to carry the matter so far, as to prohibit the whole art of statuary. But this very exaggeration, untenable as it is, adds to the value of his testimony. For he could never have *proscribed* the art as an art, if the Christians of his day notoriously even *venerated* images. The retort from Paganism would, in *that* case, have been too obvious: Physician, heal thyself.

² Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπαιδευτοτάτους φημὲν τοὺς μὴ αἰσχυνομένους ἐν τῷ τοῖς ἀψύχοις προσλαλεῖν, καὶ περὶ μὲν ὑγιείας τὸ ἀσθενὲς ἐπι-

(4.) *You Pagans allege, says Arnobius, that you worship the gods through the medium of images. What then? Even if there were no images in existence, could the gods be ignorant that they were worshipped: could the gods fancy, that you paid them no honours? You tell us, that they receive your prayers and supplications through the medium of a sort of go-betweens—Now what can be more injurious, more contumelious, more hard, than to know a god, and yet to supplicate another thing; than to expect assistance from a deity, and yet to deprecate a senseless representation*¹.

(5.) *It is manifest, says the christian speaker in the Dialogue of Minucius Felix, that your gods were mere men, whom we know both to have been*

καλουμένους, περὶ δὲ ζωῆς τὸ νεκρὸν ἀξιοῦντας, περὶ δὲ ἐπικουρίας τὸ ἀπορώτατον ἰκετεύοντας. Κἄν τινες δὲ μὴ ταῦτά φασιν εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς, ἀλλὰ μιμημάτων ἀληθινῶν κἀκείνων σύμβολα· οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ οὗτοι, ἐν βαναύσων χερσὶ τὰ μιμήματα τῆς θεϊότητος φανταζόμενοι εἶναι, ἀπαίδευτοὶ εἰσι καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ ἀμαθεῖς· ὡς τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀπηλλάχθαι ταύτης τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας καὶ τῆς ἀμαθίας. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. vi. p. 284.

¹ *Deos, inquit, per simulachra veneramus. Quid ergo? Si hæc non sint, coli se dii nesciunt, nec impertiri a vobis ullum sibi existimabunt honorem? Per tramites ergo quosdam, et per quædam fidei commissa, ut dicitur, vestras sumunt atque accipiunt cultiones: et, antequam hi sentiant, quibus illud debetur obsequium, simulachris litatis prius, et velut reliquias quasdam aliena ad illos ex auctoritate transmittitis. Et quid fieri potis est injuriosius, contumeliosius, durius, quam deum alterum scire, et rei alteri supplicare: opem sperare de numine, et nullius sensus ad effigiem deprecari? Arnob. adv. gent. lib. vi. p. 195.*

born and to have died. Yet who doubts, that the vulgar adore and publicly worship their consecrated images?—How comes one of these gods into existence? Why, truly, he is cast in a mould, or he is hewn out of a block, or he is carved with a tool! As yet; however, saving your presence, he is not a god. Lo, he is ballasted, he is hoisted up, he is set fairly upon his legs! Still, mind you, he is not a god. At last, he is ornamented, he is consecrated, he is adored! Now, an't please you, he is a god every inch of him¹.

(6.) *What madness is it, says Lactantius, either to fashion images which they themselves may afterward fear, or to fear images which they themselves have fashioned! We do not fear the images themselves, they tell us; but those beings, after whose similitude they are fashioned, and by whose names they are consecrated—Why, then, do not you raise your eyes to heaven?—Why do you turn to walls and stocks and stones, rather than look thither where you believe your gods to be²?*

¹ Manifestum est, homines illos fuisse, quos et natos legimus, et mortuos scimus. Quis ergo dubitat, horum imagines consecratas vulgus orare et publicè colere?—Quando, igitur, hic nascitur? Ecce, funditur, fabricatur, scalpitur! Nondum deus est. Ecce, plumbatur, construitur, erigitur! Nec adhuc deus est. Ecce, ornatur, consecratur, oratur! Tunc, postremo, deus est. Minuc. Fel. Octav. p. 217, 220.

² Quæ, igitur, amentia est, aut ea fingere, quæ ipsi postmodum timeant; aut timere, quæ finxerint! *Non ipsa, inquit, timemus; sed eos, ad quorum imaginem facta, et quorum nominibus consecrata sunt—Cur, igitur, oculos in cœlum non tollitis?*

2. With the necessary tenor of this language ; which the Tridentine Fathers might have studied to some advantage, ere they taught us, that (in christian churches !) the honour paid to images is referred to the prototypes which they represent : with the necessary tenor of this language, the direct testimony, that *The primitive believers abhorred all image-worship however disguised with the old pagan pretence of relative adoration*, perfectly and unequivocally agrees.

(1.) Let us first hear Clement of Alexandria.

*An image, truly, is mere dead matter, fashioned by the hand of the artizan. But, with us Christians, there is no sensible representation formed out of sensible matter. God, the alone true God, is our intellectual image*¹.

(2.) Let us next hear Minucius Felix.

Why, asks the pagan disputant Cecilius, have the Christians no altars, no temples, no known images ? Why need they affect such secrecy, unless their worship were something shameful and richly meriting punishment ? Whence, or what, or where, is that one solitary God, with whom neither Republics nor Monarchies are acquainted ?—What strange monsters, what portents, do Christians de-

—Cur ad parietes et ligna et lapides potissimum, quàm illo spectatis, ubi eos esse creditis. Lactant. Divin. Instit. lib. ii. § 2. p. 141.

¹ "Ἔστι γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ ἄγαλμα ὕλη νεκρὰ, τεχνίτου χειρὶ μεμορφωμένη. Ἡμῖν δὲ, οὐχ ὕλης αἰσθητῆς αἰσθητόν. Νοητόν δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ὁ Θεός, ὁ μόνος ὄντως Θεός. Clem. Alex. Admon. ad gent. Oper. p. 34.

*vise! How prodigious their doctrine, that their God, forsooth, whom they can neither shew nor see, diligently inquires into all their thoughts and actions*¹!

*Do you fancy; replies the christian disputant Octavius, when in regular course he comes to answer this objection of his opponent: do you fancy, that, if we have no temples and altars, we hide what we worship? What image can I fashion for God?*²?

(3.) Let us next hear Origen.

*Celsus remarks, that we have neither altars nor images nor temples—We ought not to dedicate images constructed by the ingenuity of artizans. The best images are those formed by God's word within us: namely, the imitations of those exemplars of justice and temperance and manliness and wisdom and piety and all other virtues, which are so conspicuous in Christ*³.

¹ Cur nullas aras habent, templa nulla, nulla nota simulachra, nunquam palam loqui, nunquam liberè congregari; nisi illud, quod colunt et interprimunt, aut puniendum est, aut pudendum? Unde autem, vel quis ille, aut ubi Deus unicus, solitarius, destitutus; quem non gens libera, non regna, non saltem Romana superstitio, noverunt?—At etiam Christiani, quænam monstra, quæ portenta, confingunt! Deum illum suum, quem nec ostendere possunt nec videre, in omnium mores, actus omnium, verba denique et occultas cogitationes diligenter inquirere! Minuc. Fel. Octav. p. 91—95.

² Putatis autem, nos occultare quod colimus; si delubra et aras non habemus? Quod enim simulachrum Deo fingam? Minuc. Fel. Octav. p. 313.

³ Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Κέλσος φησίν· Ἡμᾶς βωμοὺς καὶ ἀγάλ-

3. When the deadly superstition of image-worship, since ratified as part and parcel of genuine Christianity both by the second Council of Nice and by the yet later Council of Trent, began stealthily to creep into the declining Church: we find, that it was steadily opposed, and that its true origin was distinctly perceived, by those who advocated the pristine purity of evangelical worship.

(1.) Epiphanius, in the fourth century, as he himself distinctly informs us, entering into a church at Anablatha for the purpose of prayer, observed upon a suspended veil the representation of an image either of Christ or of some saint; which of the two, the good Father did not precisely recollect. Moved at the sight of a human image in a church of Christ so notoriously contrary to the authority of the Scriptures, he rent it without further ceremony, and advised the keepers of the place to use it as a shroud for some dead pauper. The conduct of the zealous Bishop, who deemed the polluted tapestry fit for nothing but a winding-sheet (dead to the dead!) produced, he tells us, a certain measure of murmuring. In that early stage of corruption, however, the keepers,

ματα καὶ νεῶς ἰδρῦσθαι φεύγειν—'Αγάλματα δὲ καὶ πρέποντα Θεῶν ἀναθήματα, οὐχ ὑπὸ βαναύσων τεχνιτῶν κατασκευασμένα, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ λόγον Θεοῦ τρανούμενα καὶ μορφούμενα ἐν ἡμῖν, αἱ ἀρεταὶ, μιμήματα τυγχάνουσαι τοῦ πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως, ἐν ᾧ ἔστι δικαιοσύνης, καὶ ἀνδρείας, καὶ σοφίας, καὶ εὐσεβείας, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρετῶν, παραδείγματα. Orig. cont. Cels. lib, viii. p. 389.

though evidently out of humour at the fate of their embroidered trumpery, only ventured to require, that Epiphanius should give them a new veil in the place of that which he had torn. This he readily promised them to do : meaning, doubtless, to give them a decent plain veil instead of the tawdry ornament wherewith they had disguised their oratory ¹.

(2.) The old author of the *Clementine Recognitions*, who is at least useful as a witness whatever may be his other qualities, ascribes the introduction of image-worship to the prince of darkness.

In his time, he remarks, the devil was wont, through some of his agents, to allege, as a decent and honest plea for image-worship, that

¹ Præterea audivi quosdam murmurare contra me, quia, quando simul pergebamus ad sanctum locum qui vocatur *Bethel* ut ibi collectam tecum ex more ecclesiastico facerem, et venissem ad villam quæ dicitur *Anablatha*, vidissemque ibi præteriens lucernam ardentem, et interrogassem quis locus esset, didicissemque esse ecclesiam, et intrassem ut orarem : inveni ibi velum pendens in foribus ejusdem ecclesiæ, tinctum atque depictum, et habens imaginem quasi Christi vel sancti cujusdam ; non enim satis memini, cujus imago fuerit. Cum ergo hoc vidissem in ecclesia Christi, contra auctoritatem Scripturarum, hominis pendere imaginem : scidi illud ; et magis dedi consilium custodibus ejusdem loci, ut pauperem mortuum eo obvolverent et efferrent. Illique, contra murmurantes, dixerunt : *Si scindere voluerat, justum erat, ut aliud daret velum atque mutaret.* Quod cum audissem, me daturum esse pollicitus sum, et illico esse missurum. Epiphanius ad Joan. Episc. Hieros. Epist. in oper. Hieron. vol. ii. p. 177.

Visible images were adored only to the honour of the invisible God.

This pretence of the innocence and propriety of relative image-worship, though it has been subsequently ratified by the theological wisdom of at least two collective Ecumenical Councils, he pronounces to be *most assuredly false* ¹.

(3.) Eusebius gives us an account of certain images of Christ and the woman who had been healed of a bloody flux, which, he says, were extant in his time at Paneas or Cesarèa-Philippi.

For this strange unseemly circumstance, and likewise for representations of Paul and Peter and Christ himself graphically depicted with colours, he very rationally and very truly accounts on the principle, that *such a practice, in point of origination, was apparently pagan* ².

¹ Per alios item serpens ille proferre verba hujusmodi solet : *Nos ad honorem invisibilis Dei imagines visibiles adoramus* : quod certissimè falsum est. Clement. Recog. lib. v. § 23. Cotel. Patr. Apost. vol. i. p. 552. Vide etiam Ibid. lib. v. § 14. p. 550.

² Καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν τοὺς πάλαι ἐξ ἐθνῶν εὐεργετηθέντας πρὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ταῦτα πεποιηκέναι· ὅτε καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ τὰς εἰκόνας Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου καὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, διὰ χρωμάτων ἐν γραφαῖς σωζομένας ἱστορήσαμεν· ὡς εἰκὸς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀπαραφυλάκτως οἷα σωτήρας, ἙΘΝΙΚῆ ΣΥΝΘΕΙΔΙ, παρ' ἑαυτοῖς τοῦτον τιμᾶν εἰωθότων τὸν τρόπον. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. c. 18.

Valesius, jealous (I suppose) that Eusebius should have arranged Paul before Peter, somewhat amusingly, in his latin version, carefully restores to Peter his due precedence. *Apostolorum Petri ac Pauli*. If Dr. Trevern and Mr. Husenbeth

(4.) The corruption, though long opposed by every enlightened Christian, had certainly begun to steal into the Church even before the time of Constantine: for, otherwise, we cannot account for the appearance of the thirty sixth canon of the provincial Council of Elvira, which strenuously censures and prohibits it.

It hath seemed good to us, that pictures ought not to be admitted into a church: lest that should be painted upon walls, which is worshipped and adored¹.

Such a canon would scarcely have been made, unless experience had shewn, that the mere ornamental introduction of pictures, however innocent *in the abstract*, had yet *practically* led to some odious abuses, which the Council wisely laboured to abolish, at their very commencement, by removing the incidental cause.

(5.) Unhappily, the prudent decision of the Council of Elvira was neglected or disregarded: and, in process of time, the result was a case of flagrant idolatry. Yet still, though the case occurred even so late as the close of the sixth century, there was not wanting a faithful episcopal witness to oppose and protest against the crying abomination.

had never taken any greater liberties with the old ecclesiastical writers, I should have had small reason to complain of their proceedings.

¹ Placuit, picturas in ecclesia esse non debere: ne, quod colitur aut adoratur, in parietibus depingatur. Concil. Elib. can. xxxvi.

Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, finding it impossible to prevent his people from worshipping the images which had been unadvisedly set up in the churches, forthwith, like a faithful and vigilant pastor, brake the contemptible puppets in pieces. For this action, he was censured by Pope Gregory : not, however, on the ground that the people had *not* committed idolatry, for *this* was most fully allowed by the Roman Prelate ; but on the totally different ground, that *images might be employed as a useful mean of conveying instruction to the illiterate, though any worship of them ought to be strictly prohibited*¹.

¹ The Bishop of Strasbourg, according to his wont, has grievously tampered with the narrative of these transactions.

He exhibits Serenus, as being only officiously and superfluously anxious to *prevent* that idolatry, which he thought very probably *would* take place. Whereas, the truth of the matter was, that the idolatry, as might easily have been anticipated from the vile unscriptural practice of setting up images in churches, actually *had* taken place, and that good Serenus brake the miserable puppets *on that very account*.

I. Dr. Trevern's statement runs, in his own precise words, as follows.

Ecoutez, je vous prie, Monsieur, ce qu' écrivait un grand pape à un évêque de Marseille, qui, *par un zèle inconsidéré*, avoit brisé les images des saints, *sous le prétexte qu' il ne faut pas les adorer*. Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 353.

Not a hint is here given, that the foul act of idolatry *had* actually been perpetrated : on the contrary, the English Layman, by the very turn of the sentence, is industriously led to conclude, that the excellent Serenus was a fiery and inconsiderate zealot, who strenuously laid about him right and left,

How much more wisely Serenus judged than Gregory, has been lamentably shewn by the sub-

under the idle trumped up pretext, that the worthy Massilians *would* certainly be taking to worship the images, when all the while (good honest souls!) such a phantasy *had* never once entered into their imaginations.

Such, plainly, is the Bishop's version of the matter: and, accordingly, lest his english friend should be in any danger of misunderstanding that version, he supplies him with the following very extraordinary translation of Pope Gregory's comment upon the affair.

Si vous aviez défendu qu' on les adore, nous n' aurions qu' à vous louer. Mais nous vous blâmons de les avoir brisées. Dites-moi, mon frère, avez-vous entendu dire que quelque prêtre ait jamais fait ce que vous avez fait? Au défaut de toute autre, une considération devoit vous retenir, celle de ne pas vous croire le seul saint, le seul sage, parmi vos confrères: autre est d' adorer la peinture; autre, d' apprendre par elle ce qu' il faut adorer. Ce que l'Écriture montre à ceux qui savent lire, la peinture le montre aux idiots qui ne savent que regarder. Saint Grég. le Gr. Epî. à Serenus. an. 590. See Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 353.

II. Let us now hear Pope Gregory's *own* version of the matter, in his two successive epistles to Serenus on the subject.

1. Gregorius Sereno Episc. Massil. Quod fraternitati vestræ tam sera scripta transmittimus, non hoc torpori, sed occupationi, deputate. Latorem vero præsentium dilectissimum filium Cyriacum, monasterii patrem, vobis in omnibus commendamus, ut nulla hunc in Massiliensi civitate mora detineat, sed ad fratrem coëpiscopum nostrum Syagrium, cum sanctitatis vestræ solatio, Deo protegente, profiscatur. Præterea indico dudum ad nos pervenisse, quod fraternitas vestra, QUOSDAM IMAGINUM ADORATORES ASPICIENS, easdem in ecclesiis imagines confregit atque projecit. *Et quidem zelum vos, ne quid manu-*

sequent edicts of the two Councils of Nice and Trent. The case is adduced simply to shew, that,

factum adorari posset, habuisse laudavimus; sed frangere easdem imagines non debuisse, indicamus. Idcirco enim pictura in ecclesiis adhibetur, ut hi, qui literas nesciunt, saltem in parietibus videndo, legant quæ legere in codicibus non valent. Tua ergo fraternitas, et illas servare, et ab earum adoratu populum prohibere, debuit: quatenus et literarum nescii haberent unde scientiam historiæ colligerent, et populus in picturæ adoratione minime peccaret. Gregor. Epist. lib. ix. epist. 105.

2. Gregorius Sereno Episc. Massil. Convocandi sunt dispersi Ecclesiæ filii, *eisque Scripturæ Sacræ est testimoniis ostendendum, quia omne manufactum adorari non licet; quoniam scriptum est: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et illi soli servies.* Ac deinde subjungendum, quia picturas imaginum, quæ ad ædificationem imperiti populi fuerant factæ, ut, nescientes literas, ipsam historiam intendentes, quid actum sit discerent. **QUIA TRANSISSE IN ADORATIONEM VIDERAS, IDCIRCO COMMOTUS ES, UT EAS IMAGINES FRANGI PRÆCIPERES.** Atque eisdem dicendum: si ad hanc instructionem, ad quam imagines antiquitus factæ sunt, habere vultis in ecclesia, eas modis omnibus et fieri et haberi permitto. Atque indica, quod non tibi ipsa visio historiæ, quæ pictura teste pendebatur, displicuerit: **SED ILLA ADORATIO, QUÆ PICTURIS FUERAT INCOMPETENTER EXHIBITA.** Atque, in his verbis eorum mentes demulcens, eos ad concordiam tuam revoca. Et, si quis imagines facere voluerit, minimè prohibe: *adorari vero imagines omnibus modis veta.* Sed hoc sollicitè fraternitas tua admoneat, ut ex visione rei gestæ ardorem compunctionis percipiant, et in adoratione solius omnipotentis sanctæ Trinitatis humiliter prosternantur. Gregor. Epist. lib. xi. epist. 13. aliter 9.

III. Dr. Trevern's reply to my charge against him, of wilfully suppressing and perverting the important FACT, that *the Massilians had actually been guilty of worshipping their images, and that this foul deed of really perpetrated idolatry*

even so late as the close of the sixth century, the Church still possessed such a witness as Serenus.

was the moving cause which led Serenus to demolish the mischievous trumpery, is certainly one of the most remarkable performances I ever chanced to encounter.

First, he describes himself as being compelled *to reëstablish the FACT*; which fact, though I had faithfully given Gregory's two successive epistles in his own precise original words, he, with astonishing assurance, alleges to have been mutilated by me.

Next, he professes himself to *feel nothing save disgust and pity for my conduct*: though the whole of *my* conduct was simply an exposure of *his* conduct, by the very simple process of a fair and honest adduction of the original documents on which the entire question depended.

And, lastly, by a more accurate citation from Pope Gregory than that which he had *previously* given, he at length *absolutely confesses* the occurrence of the precise FACT, which I had before very truly charged him with wilfully *suppressing* and *pervverting*: for he now admits Gregory to have written to Serenus; *SEEING SOME PERSONS ADORE THE IMAGES in the church, you have broken them.* *Answ. to Diffic. of Roman. p. 29—31.*

Thus does this singular controvertist finally admit, *even while reviling myself*: that Serenus brake the images, not under the pretext that the Massilians *ought not* to adore them (as he originally thought fit to exhibit the matter), but because they *actually had* adored them; a natural result of the setting up of pretended holy and even miraculous images, by no means, it is to be feared, *peculiar* to the Massilians of the sixth century.

IV. The prudent inquirer will doubtless have observed, that Pope Gregory, however he might err in judgment, yet plainly knew nothing of that *relative worship* of images afterward so zealously inculcated by the Secundo-Nicene and Tridentine Councils.

He *professedly* considers images and pictures as *a sort of*

III. From *Image-worship*, we may next proceed to *Relic-worship*.

1. Against even the possibility of such a miserable superstition, as *that of preserving in reliquaries*

books to the unlearned, which might convey to their minds the same ideas that letters conveyed to the better instructed.

This use of such implements, which subsequent experience has proved to be so horribly mischievous, is widely different from *offering to them a relative worship terminating in their prototypes.*

According to Gregory : *Pictures are introduced into churches, in order that they, who are ignorant of letters, by seeing such pictures upon the walls, may there read what they cannot read in books.*

But, according to the Tridentine Fathers : *The images of Christ and the Virgin and the Saints are to be had and retained more especially in churches, and due honour and veneration are to be paid to them ; because the honour, which they thus receive, is referred to the prototypes which they represent : so that, through the images, which we kiss, and before which we uncover our heads and prostrate ourselves, we adore Christ and venerate the Saints whose similitude they bear.* Concil. Trident. sess. xxv. p. 507, 508.

Will Dr. Trevern pretend to tell even his readers of the generally docile romish communion, that the views of Pope Gregory in the sixth century and of the Tridentine Fathers in the sixteenth century, respecting the use of images or pictures in churches, are *identical* ? Yet these Tridentine Fathers have actually the impudence to assert, that, what they call the *legitimate use of images*, or, in other words, the use of images as defined by themselves, was received in the primeval times of the Christian Religion : *primævis Christianæ Religionis temporibus receptum !* Ibid. p. 507. This, forsooth, to our very faces, with Pope Gregory's two epistles under our very eyes !

dead men's bones for the purpose of relatively worshipping them, we have a valuable testimony borne by the Church of Smyrna immediately after the martyrdom of Polycarp in the year 147¹: though it is to be feared, that the originally innocent and natural practice of their assembling annually at the place where they had *buried* his few remains may have tended to introduce the culpable practices of a later period. I may add, that this testimony is yet additionally valuable, not only on account of its venerable antiquity, but likewise on account of its being at the same time a primitive testimony against the corrupt humour of invoking departed Saints and Martyrs.

When the envious and the wicked one, the adversary of the race of the just, saw the greatness of Polycarp's martyrdom, he laboured industriously, that his remains might not be taken away by us—Hence he suggested to Nicetas, the father of Herod and the brother of Alcè, to intercede with the governor, that his body should not be delivered for sepulture: lest, said he, leaving him that was crucified, they should begin to worship this person. And these things they said at the suggestion and instigation of the Jews, who also watched us when we were about to take him from the fire: because they

¹ I follow Bishop Pearson in assigning the year 147, as the date of Polycarp's martyrdom. It strikes me, as being much more probable, than any one of the several years 166 or 167 or 169 or 175, which have been variously selected by Tillemont and Basnage and Usher and Petit and other writers.

were ignorant, that neither can we ever forsake Christ who suffered for the salvation of the saved throughout the whole world, nor that we can ever worship any other. For him, being the Son of God, we adore: but the martyrs, as disciples and imitators of the Lord, we worthily love on account of their special affection to their own king and master — But the centurion, beholding the contention excited by the Jews, threw him into the midst of the fire and burned him. And thus we, afterward gathering up his bones more honourable than precious stones and more tried than gold, deposited them where it naturally followed that we should deposit them. To us assembling in this place so far as lies in our power, with triumph and with joy, the Lord will grant to celebrate the birth-day of his martyrdom¹.

2. The Smyrnèans, instead of *superstitiously preserving*, only gave *decent sepulture* to, the scorched bones of Polycarp: but, after the Church had been taken under the protection of the State, and when the flame of pagan persecution had been quenched, an excessive veneration for the bodies and relics and tombs of the martyrs rapidly sprang up to maturity.

Various instances of this occur in the writings of Ambrose, who flourished during the latter part of the fourth century: and, among them, we find

¹ Epist. Eccles. Smyrn. § 17, 18. For the original Greek, see above, book i. chap. 6. § I. 2. (1.)

a sufficiently curious case of perverted devotion, in the practice of deep and prolonged potations at the sepulchres of the saints for the purpose of more effectually procuring their favourable attention ¹.

Matters became even still worse at a period very little later : for Augustine notices the conduct of certain monastic hypocrites, who travelled about the country, driving, like pedlars, a gainful traffic by the sale of fictitious relics ².

Under such circumstances, Vigilantius, toward the end of the fourth century, disgusted, as well he might be, with this wretched superstition, roundly denominated its advocates *idolatrours cinder-worshippers*, and charged them with idly venerating the bones of dead men according to the exact ceremonial of Paganism ³.

¹ O piæ devotionis obsequium ! Bibamus pro salute exercituum, pro comitum virtute, pro filiorum sanitate. Et hæc vota ad Deum pervenire judicant : sicut illi, qui calices ad sepulchra martyrum deferunt, atque illic in vesperam bibunt, et aliter se exaudiri posse non credunt. Ambros. de Hel. et jejun. c. xvii. Oper. col. 1133. Vide etiam, Ambros. epist. lxxxv. serm. xci. xciii. Oper. col. 685, 686, 793, 794, 795—798.

² August. de oper. monach. c. xxviii. § 36.

³ Ais, Vigilantium, qui κατ' ἀντίφρασιν hoc vocatur nomine, nam *Dormitantius* rectius diceretur, os fœtidum rursum aperire, et putorem spurcissimum contra sanctorum martyrum proferre reliquias, et nos, qui eas suscipimus, appellare *cinerarios* et *idolatrâs*, qui mortuorum hominum ossa veneremur. Hieron. adv. Vigilant. epist. liii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 157. Exortus est subito Vigilantius, seu potius Dormitantius, qui immundo

This plain language not a little offended Jerome, who was deeply tainted with the fashionable absurdity. The zealous Father, however, though he angrily vindicated the relic-mongers, disclaimed, on their behalf, the allegation of idolatry : for he declared, that they no more worshipped and adored their favourite relics, than they did the sun or the moon, the cherubim or the seraphim ¹.

3. The soreness of Jerome is as evident as the manly and honest indignation of Vigilantius : but, though he might truly enough *for himself individually* disclaim the worship of relics, vexed and annoyed at the irritating charge as he plainly was ; he undertook, if we may credit his contemporary Augustine, much more than he could perform, when he volunteered the awkward task of *a general collective vindication*.

spiritu pugnet contra Christi Spiritum, et martyrum neget sepulchra veneranda, damnandas dicat esse vigilias—Sedentem (scil. Vigilantium) cernunt in ecclesia, et, inter verba blasphemiae, ista quoque dicentem : *Quid necesse est, te tanto honore non solum honorare, sed etiam adorare, illud nescio quid, quod in modico vasculo transferendo colis?—Et in consequentibus : Prope ritum Gentilium videmus, sub prætectu religionis, introductum in ecclesias, sole adhuc fulgente moles cereorum accendi, et ubicumque pulvisculum nescio quod, in modico vasculo pretioso linteamine circumdatum, osculantes adorare.* Hieron. adv. Vigilant. c. ii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 159.

¹ Nos autem, non dico martyrum reliquias, sed ne solem quidem et lunam, non angelos, non archangelos, non cherubim, non seraphim, et omne nomen quod nominatur et in præsentis sæculo et in futuro, colimus et adoramus. Hieron. adv. Vigilant. epist. liii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 157.

*I have known, says Augustine, that MANY are adorers of sepulchres and of pictures:—but the Church herself condemns them, and studies to correct them as bad children*¹.

Here, with Jerome's permission, and in full corroboration of the excellent Vigilantius whom his opponent with pettish facetiousness reviles as belying his name by being nothing better than *a sleepy-headed dunce*: here we have, at once, a fair confession, and a just reprobation, of the vile practice of Relic-worship.

IV. Nothing remains, save to produce evidence for the non-existence of *Cross-worship* among the primitive Christians.

Against the Church of the fourth century, Julian alleged the sottish worship of the cross: and, by the tacit admission of his subsequent antagonist Cyril of Alexandria, such worship certainly prevailed at least in the fifth century².

1. There was, I fear, but too much ground for the *general* allegation of the Emperor: yet, on the part of Ambrose while relating the conduct of Helena as to the discovery of the true cross at Jerusalem, we have a noble protestation, in the name of the devout Empress, against any such degrading superstition.

¹ *NOVI MULTOS esse sepulchrorum et picturarum adoratores—quos et ipsa Ecclesia condemnat, et tanquam malos filios corrigere studet. August. de morib. Eccles. Cathol. lib. i. c. 34.*

² *Julian. apud Cyril. Alex. cont. Julian. lib. vi. p. 194.*

*Helena, says he, found the yet extant inscription, which distinguished the cross of Christ from the crosses of the two thieves. She adored the King, not the wood; for this latter practice is a pagan error and the vanity of the impious: but she adored him, who hung upon the wood, and whose name was written in the inscription*¹.

From the oblique hint of Ambrose, it is too plain, that the paganising error (as he justly styles it) of worshipping the very cross itself, with what the Nicene and Tridentine Doctors call *a relative adoration*, had then infected many members of the Church Catholic: but it is no less plain, that that great and good man utterly reprobated such a practice as no better than the brainless impiety of rank Heathenism.

2. At a much earlier period, probably from their frequent use of the symbol, the same allegation, as that of Julian, had been preferred against the Christians.

About the year 220, the pagan speaker Cecilius, in the Dialogue of Minucius Felix, objects, to the christian speaker Octavius, the adoration of Christ and his cross.

Octavius, in reply, acknowledges and vindicates the adoration of Christ: but, as for the other part

¹ Habeat Helena quæ legat, unde crucem Domini recognoscat. Invenit ergo titulum; regem adoravit: non lignum utique, quia hic gentilis est error et vanitas impiorum; sed adoravit illum, qui pependit in ligno, scriptus in titulo. Ambros. de obit. Theodos. Imperat. Oper. col. 498.

of the charge, *We neither, says he, worship crosses, nor wish for them*¹.

¹ Nam quod religioni nostræ hominem noxium et crucem ejus adscribitis, longè de vicinia veritatis erratis; qui putatis Deum credi, aut meruisse noxium, aut potuisse terrenum—Cruces nec colimus, nec optamus. Minuc. Fel. Octav. p. 280, 284.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUSION.

FROM the whole of the preceding inquiry, the conclusion is so obvious, that it can scarcely fail of having been anticipated.

I. To demand from us the admission, that any particular doctrine or any general system of doctrine forms a constituent part of divine revelation, while yet the alleged FACT of *such constituency* is altogether unsupported by competent evidence, is certainly to propound a most unreasonable requisition.

Let the alleged FACT be *established*; and *then*, no doubt, mere human reason must be put to silence, and the implicit submissiveness of faith must be brought into immediate operation: for, to *reject* a doctrine, when it has been *proved* to be a portion of divine revelation, merely because it may be offensive to the vain pride of human reason, is no less absurd and inconsistent; than to *admit* a doctrine when we have *no proof* that

it has been revealed from heaven, merely because some one may idly tell us that *the highest act of faith is to believe without evidence*. But, assuredly, the alleged FACT itself must, in the *first* instance, be *established*; or, in other words, this or that particular doctrine must be adequately shewn *really* to constitute a part of God's revelation: for, without such *anterior* establishment, or without such *preparatory* demonstration, our admission of the doctrine in question will be nothing more respectable than a gross act of blind credulity.

II. The truth is: Reason and Faith have each their own proper province; and neither can intrude upon the province of the other, without detriment to the cause of sound religion.

1. It is the office of Reason to examine, on the ordinary principles of evidence: first, whether a revelation, which purports to come from God, really *does* come from him; and, secondly, in case the divine origination of the code in question shall have been satisfactorily *established*, what special doctrines that revelation propounds for our acceptance¹.

2. It is the office of Faith, in strict correspondence with the preparatory labours of Reason: first, to receive, with implicit assurance, that which has been reasonably proved to be a divine revelation; and, secondly, to embrace, with un-

¹ See Acts xvii. 11. 1 Thessal. v. 21.

lating confidence, every doctrine, which by ancient testimony shall have been shewn to constitute a part of that divine revelation.

t'III. Now, to a test of this precise description, the peculiarities of Romanism have been subjected.

With respect to the divine origination of Christianity itself, ALL, who bear the name of Christians, are of course agreed.

Hence the question, between the Roman-Catholic and the Reformed-Catholic, solely respects the doctrines and appended practices, alleged by the former to be taught by Christianity.

On this point, the Reformed-Catholic professes himself ready to believe any doctrine, which, by adequate and intelligible testimony, shall be *shewn* to constitute a part of the Christian Revelation: and, since the Roman-Catholic requires him to admit various doctrines *under that precise aspect*, he conceives himself fully warranted, even by the express decision of that very Revelation itself, to demand from the Roman-Catholic the *establishment* of the alleged fact by clear and competent evidence¹.

The equity of such demand is tacitly admitted by the Roman-Catholic himself: for, otherwise, the Works of Dr. Trevern and Mr. Berington could scarcely have been brought into existence.

¹ Be ready always to give an answer to EVERY man, that asketh you a REASON of the hope that is in you. 1 Pet. iii. 15.

Those Works are a virtual answer to the dem., in question: and, so far as I can judge, they ha^{ve} on the merit of affording to it the only answer ^{ts} which the case is capable. th

Yet, how lamentably deficient that answer is^e we have now seen at large both *negatively* and *positively*.

1. *Negatively*, there is a total defect of evidence: either that the peculiarities of Romanism are set forth in Holy Scripture; or that, during the three first centuries (within the *exclusive* limits of which, even upon the largest allowance, all *really* legitimate historical testimony must obviously be sought), they were received, by the primitive Church Catholic, as undoubted constituent parts of the Christian Revelation.

2. *Positively*, there is direct and decisive evidence, extending, not only through the three first centuries, but down even to a much later period: that such peculiarities, *under the aspect of doctrines expressly taught by divine revelation*, either were utterly unknown to the early Church; or that, when known in consequence of their being started by some presumptuous innovator, they were forthwith disowned and condemned and rejected.

IV. The peculiarities of the Roman Faith being thus circumstanced, it may well be wondered, by what extraordinary process of the human mind they can ever have become the subject of devout and implicit belief.

I can only account for the fact in some such manner as the following.

Certain Councils, reputed Ecumenical, and thence deemed infallible, have pronounced the peculiarities in question to be indisputable verities. Therefore, since the judgment of the Catholic Church is more weighty than the judgment of any private individual; as indisputable verities, those peculiarities must be received ¹.

This, duly inculcated by the whole body of the Priesthood, is, I take it, the true ground of general acquiescent latin belief: but, in truth, even on the acknowledged principles of the Romanists themselves, nothing, when the matter is fairly examined, can well be more lamentably unsatisfactory.

The Councils, which propound the peculiarities before us, propound them, not *nakedly and abstractedly*, but *on the professed basis both of their original apostolic authority and of their universal reception by the Church from the very beginning*.

¹ Mais peut-être l'Eglise Catholique avoit-elle dans les derniers temps outrepassé les bornes dans sa pratique et dans son enseignement? Bien moins encore. Ses principes, une fois définis, sont irrévocables: elle-même y est immuablement enchaînée par des liens qu'il lui est dorénavant impossible de briser. Trevern's Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 324.

When a dogmatical point is to be determined, the Catholic Church speaks but once: and her decree is irrevocable. The solemn determinations of General Councils have remained unalterable and will ever be so. Walmesley's Gen. Hist. of the Church. chap. ix. p. 224.

Thus, for instance, the Council of Trent, in propounding the doctrine of Transubstantiation and in ordaining that the consecrated elements should receive the same adoration as that which is paid to the Supreme Deity, lays down these matters, not *simply on the ground of its own absolute infallibility*, but *complexly on the ground that such doctrine and such practice ALWAYS prevailed in God's Church Catholic*¹.

Here the Tridentine Fathers refer us to an alleged FACT: and, upon this alleged FACT, they even *professedly* build their decision. Therefore, if the *fact* be incapable of establishment: the *decision*, avowedly depending as it does *upon* the fact, must, by the very terms of the tridentine statement, inevitably fall *along with* the fact.

Now the alleged FACT is precisely that: which, on the one hand, is established by no real historical evidence; and which, on the other hand, is absolutely contradicted by all historical evidence².

Consequently, when a person builds his faith upon the asserted infallibility of the decisions of Ecumenical Councils, he builds it, in reality, upon *an alleged FACT relative to the earliest Church in and from the very time of Christ and his Apostles*: which alleged FACT, is not only incapable of esta-

¹ SEMPER hæc fides in Ecclesia Dei fuit. Concil. Trident. sess. xiii. c. 3. p. 124. Ideo persuasum SEMPER in Ecclesia Dei fuit. Ibid. c. 4. p. 125.

² See above, book i. chap. 4. book ii. chap. 4.

blishment, but actually stands contradicted by positive testimony.

Yet, unless I wholly mistake, the very hardiest of the Papalists pretend not to assert the infallibility of Ecumenical Councils in regard to FACTS: they carefully limit their infallibility to points of DOCTRINE¹.

¹ *It is no article of Catholic Faith, that the Church cannot err, either in matters of FACT or discipline, or in matters of speculation or civil policy depending on mere human judgment or testimony. These are no revelations deposited in the Church; in regard of which ALONE, she has the promised assistance of the Holy Spirit.* Berington's Faith of Cath. p. 154, 155.

I. The sagacious Dr. Poynder, when Mr. Berington's Work was submitted to his inspection, intimated himself to *think the assertion too general.*

Doubtless, it is *far* too general, as the wise Vicar Apostolic distinctly perceived, FOR THE INTERESTS OF THE ROMAN CHURCH: but it is *not a whit* too general for the *easily separable interests of Truth.*

Mr. Berington, however, not happening to see quite so far into a mill-stone as his lynx-eyed superior, and evidently not perceiving the drift of his cautiously worded objection, manfully stood up for *his own* opinion.

You think the assertion too general, says he to Dr. Poynder. *As far as FACTS, meaning DOGMATICAL FACTS, are meant: what I have said on that point must satisfy, I conceive, every difficulty.* See Faith of Cathol. Lett. to Dr. Poynder. p. xlvi.

Accordingly, notwithstanding the broad hint of the Vicar Apostolic, that he should quietly hold his tongue and refrain from rashly measuring the *Extent of the Inerrancy of the Church*: Mr. Berington steadily persisted in his original determination of explicitly teaching the whole world, that *It is no article of Catholic Faith, that the Church cannot err IN MATTERS OF FACT.*

Therefore, plainly, when an Ecumenical Council, like that of Trent, *professedly* rests the deci-

II. What precise idea he wishes us to annex to his explanatory phrase DOGMATICAL FACTS, I will not undertake to determine: but, if it have any intelligible meaning, it must, I should suppose, be designed to express FACTS POSITIVELY RECORDED BY HISTORY OR FACTS INCONTROVERTIBLY ATTESTED BY COMPETENT EVIDENCE.

This, however, is a point of no great consequence. The real question is: *Whether the Catholic Church* (as the latin gentlemen are pleased to express themselves) *be infallible, in the determination of AN ALLEGED HISTORICAL FACT, as well as in the determination of A POINT OF DOCTRINE.*

Such is the question: and, with respect to application, it comes into play in manner following.

Was the Ecumenical Council of Trent infallible: when it decided, as AN HISTORICAL FACT, that *The doctrine of Transubstantiation was ALWAYS held in the Catholic Church*; as well as when it decided, as A POINT OF DOCTRINE, that *The belief in Transubstantiation is the only true belief?*

I understand Mr. Berington to answer this important question in the negative: while Dr. Poynder, clearly perceiving the inevitable consequences of such a reply, wished, with abundant prudence, to make his less cautious brother hold his tongue.

The question, however, unless he writes quite unintelligibly, has been fairly answered by Mr. Berington: *It is no article of Catholic Faith, that the Church cannot err IN MATTERS OF FACT.* And the *rationalè* of the answer is very sensibly and very handsomely given: *Historical MATTERS OF FACT are no revelations deposited in the Church; in regard of which revelations ALONE, she has the promised assistance of the Holy Spirit.*

III. If Mr. Berington should, in any wise, wish to *modify* or *retract*; in other words, if he should wish to *withdraw* from the above plain statement of his answer according as I

sion of a DOCTRINE upon an alleged FACT; in the statement of which alleged FACT, the Council confessedly *may be* mistaken, and by historical testimony both negative and positive is actually evinced to *have been* mistaken: such Council's decision of a DOCTRINE, when thus made to repose upon a *falsely* alleged FACT, can, by no intelligible

understand it: he will immediately bring himself into the following unsatisfactory dilemma.

1. Should he fairly acknowledge the Church to be *not* infallible IN MATTERS OF FACT: then, since all the Tridentine Decisions, and more especially the Tridentine Decision in regard to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, professedly rest upon AN ALLEGED MATTER OF FACT, namely the *SEMPER hæc fides in Ecclesia Dei fuit*; it is plain, that the Tridentine Fathers, inasmuch as they make their doctrinal decisions to rest upon an alleged fact respecting which fact they confessedly *may* have been mistaken, *may also* have thence been mistaken in their superstructured doctrinal decisions.

2. Should he, on the other hand, declare, notwithstanding what he has himself written and published, that the Church is infallible IN MATTERS OF FACT: then he must have the goodness to account for the very curious circumstance, that the *practically* infallible second Council of Nice should have asserted the FACT that *No one of the Fathers before the year 787 had ever styled the consecrated bread an IMAGE of Christ's body; when yet, both Eusebius and Theodoret among the Greeks, and Ambrose and Gelasius among the Latins, all of whom flourished anterior to the year 787, had, even verbally, employed this identical expression IMAGE in that identical application.* See Concil. Nic. ii. act. vi. Labb. Concil. vol. vii. p. 448, 449. Euseb. Demons. Evan. lib. viii. c. 2. p. 236. Theodoret. Dial. ii. Oper. vol. iv. p. 85. Ambros. Offic. lib. i. c. 48. Oper. col. 33. Gelas. de duab. Christ. natur. in Biblioth. Patr. vol. iv. p. 422.

possibility, vindicate to itself the least degree of conclusive authority.

With suicidal hand, the Council of Trent, like various other similarly circumstanced Councils, has, in truth, been its own destroyer. It refers us to a FACT, for its decision of a DOCTRINE. By its own free reference, therefore, it even *invites* us to examine and discuss the historical testimony, on which the alleged FACT might *anteriorly* be thought to be supported. The invitation has been accepted : and the alleged FACT turns out to be an utter falsehood : respecting which the Tridentine Fathers, on *this* point *confessedly* fallible, have laboured under a most grievous and most portentous error. How, then, can the DOCTRINE be true ; when its *professed* basis, the alleged FACT, rests *itself* upon no foundation ?

V. I fearlessly submit, that, by no possibility, can the warmest adherent of the Papacy establish the DOCTRINE, save through the medium of historically substantiating the FACT. Hence, since *as yet* at least the FACT has *not* been substantiated, the general conclusion, from the whole preceding discussion, may, *for the present*, be briefly stated in manner following.

IN ADMITTING THE PECULIARITIES OF THE LATIN CHURCH AS ARTICLES OF THE CHRISTIAN REVELATION, THE ROMANIST BELIEVES, NOT ONLY WITHOUT EVIDENCE, BUT EVEN AGAINST EVIDENCE.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.



NUMBER I.

LITURGIES.

ONE of Dr. Trevern's most favourite arguments, by which he would demonstrate the reception of the doctrine of Transubstantiation on the part of the primitive Church Catholic from the very beginning, is *the language of the ancient Liturgies*. Discuss. Amic. Lettr. ix. Answ. to Diff. of Rom. p. 181—230.

An author, *omnibus hoc vitium est cantoribus*, is apt to regard with parental fondness a production of his own, which yet may not strike upon the apprehension of another person as possessing any very special measure of cogency. Such, apparently, were the different estimates of this present argument, as respectively formed by the Bishop of Strasbourg and myself: and the result of the variety, so far as *I* am concerned, was my well nigh total silence on the topic in the first edition of the *Difficulties of Romanism*.

Encouraged by my taciturnity, Dr. Trevern unhappily mistook systematic mercy for overwhelming terror. I was unwilling to hurt the feelings of an individual, whom, on account of his high alleged amiability, I had been requested to treat with all gentleness and forbearance: my evidence seemed to be quite ample enough, without going into the very inferior question of the Liturgies: and there were certain matters intimately connected with

Dr. Trevern's argument from that quarter, which I could not enter upon without an unpleasant exposure of most reprehensible conduct. Now I had no wish to dissect the Bishop a single iota more than I found *absolutely necessary*: and his argument from the Liturgies I deemed, even in itself, quite beneath the gravity of serious criticism. Hence, in compliance with the warmly expressed wishes of Mr. Massingberd, I conceived, that a prudent silence on that argument, while I barely mentioned that such an argument *had* been used, was the best and kindest plan which I could adopt.

In his *Answer*, Dr. Trevern remarks, doubtless very truly, that, to the argument in question, I offer reply, *none whatsoever, to his utter astonishment, none*. But it may be doubted, whether, with equal truth, he tells me, that my weak eyes were dazzled by the brilliancy of the old Liturgies: and it may peradventure be also doubted, whether, with any very surpassing measure of discretion, he loudly and somewhat insultingly dares to the combat his supposed shrinking antagonist. Necessity, they say, has no law: and, since the Bishop and his friends have now sufficiently enjoyed his imaginary triumph *in re liturgica*, I must, when thus bearded, be even content to buckle on my armour.

I. Not one of the old Liturgies, as it is well known, was committed to writing until the fifth century. Previous to that period, whatever of the old Liturgies was in existence, traditionally floated only in the memories of the Priesthood, or partially at least might be caught up by the imperfect recollection of the Laity.

Under such circumstances, it is obvious, that, if any change of doctrine gradually took place; a correspondent change of expression, or rather a correspondent *heightening* of expression (the easy possibility of which, as we shall presently see, Dr. Trevern himself, with in-

terpolative ingenuity, has fully and *practically* demonstrated), would tacitly and almost imperceptibly take place also. Hence, when the Liturgies came to be committed to writing, they would indeed, most indisputably, exhibit the doctrine of the age when they *were* so committed: but, whether they would *likewise* faithfully exhibit the doctrine of a much earlier period, must plainly be learned, not from the Liturgies *themselves* (which, in the very nature of things, is *impossible*), but from other independent and ancient *extrinsic* testimony.

Thus, for instance, in the old Clementine Liturgy, which *memoriter* was doubtless used in the Eastern Churches anterior to the time of Constantine, the perpetual recurrence of a doxology to the three persons of one essential Godhead is an excellent proof of *the early universal reception of the doctrine of the Trinity*: BECAUSE we have direct *extrinsic* evidence, that that doxology is older than the days of Justin Martyr and Polycarp; the former of whom avowedly received it from a prior generation of Christians who had been contemporary with St. John, and the latter of whom used it under his well known character of an immediate pupil of the holy Apostle himself. But, if the same Liturgy inculcated *the doctrine of Transubstantiation*, we should only have a proof, that such doctrine was received *in the fifth century*, when that Liturgy, as we now have it, was committed to writing: UNLESS some ancient *extrinsic* and *independent* evidence shall, additionally, prove also its reception *from the beginning*.

Hence it is obvious, that the testimony, afforded by the Liturgies to *any* doctrine, cannot, *in itself*, be justly deemed older than the fifth century; for, would we make it available to an *earlier* period, we must produce *independent* evidence, as in the recently noticed case of the multiplied doxologies, that such doctrine could claim an

earlier existence : and hence it is also obvious, that the testimony afforded by the Liturgies, thus resolving itself into and thus depending upon yet older *distinct* testimony, can never be legitimately deemed to possess any higher value than that of an occasionally very useful supplement.

I am far from admitting, as we shall presently find, that, in point of fact, the Liturgies *do* teach the doctrine of Transubstantiation : I am merely, through the very intelligible medium of a case hypothetical, shewing *what* the value of their testimony would be, if they really *did* teach any such extraordinary doctrine.

II. It will now probably be seen, why, under a *controversial* aspect, I thought very cheaply of Dr. Trevern's favourite argument from the Liturgies : it will now probably be seen, why I judged, that I might well save myself the trouble of formally considering a matter, which, for its value, depended wholly upon *extrinsic* support.

But, as I have hinted, there was yet another reason for my silence : *my extreme unwillingness*, to wit, *through a decent compliance with the wish expressed by Mr. Massingberd, to expose a Prelate, of so amiable a described character as Dr. Trevern, one jot more than I was absolutely compelled to do.*

In his *Answer* to myself, the Bishop of Strasbourg sums up in a single sentence the several points of doctrine, which, in his *Discussion Amicale*, he had previously enumerated and insisted upon, as set forth, clearly and distinctly, in the ancient Liturgies. It will be convenient, therefore, to give his own proper summing up, as a sort of text on which to raise my ensuing observations.

Treating of the Liturgies, he says : *They all speak uniformly, and in expressions the most energetic, of our*

doctrines. All proclaim, with one voice, the altar, the oblation, the unbloody sacrifice of the new covenant, the real presence of the victim, the change of substance, and, in fine, the adoration. Answ. to Diff. of Roman. p. 182.

I shall consider these several points according to the order in which they stand.

1. The Liturgies, it seems, all proclaim *the altar*.

How this can be any proof, that those, who used them, held the doctrine of Transubstantiation, I am really at a loss to comprehend.

When, probably from the very beginning, the bread and wine were offered at the table, as a *material* oblation of the first-fruits of God's creatures, in order to their subsequent sacramental consecration; when, also, most probably from the beginning, the whole service at the same table was deemed a *spiritual* and unbloody sacrifice of thanksgiving, whence doubtless, it received the name of *the eucharist*; and when again, at a later period, the consecrated elements, still upon the same table, began to be esteemed a *symbolical* unbloody sacrifice commemorative of the one efficacious literal bloody sacrifice upon the cross: the natural consequence was, that a table, thus circumstanced, would be called *an altar*. Without such an appellation, the phraseological allegory would have been incomplete: for *an altar* is implied in *a sacrifice*. But, before the use of the word *altar* can be construed to prove the doctrine of Transubstantiation, we must have it distinctly shewn to us, that the literal body and blood of Christ are materially offered up at the Lord's table as an expiatory sacrifice both for the living and for the dead.

2. The Liturgies furthermore proclaim *the oblation*.

Doubtless they do: but it does not therefore quite logically follow, that they use the word *oblation* in the

same sense as that, wherein Dr. Trevern now uses it. The Bishop gratuitously *assumes*, what he ought to have *proved*. It is a cheap artifice to annex a modern sense to ancient phraseology: though it is an artifice, which may easily deceive an English Layman unaccustomed to discussions of this nature. The primitive Church, as I have already most abundantly shewn, meant, by the word *oblation*, no such fancied literal sacrifice as the modern latin sacrifice of the Mass.

3. The Liturgies also proclaim *the unbloody sacrifice of the new covenant*.

Certainly they do: but the *real* question is, what they *mean* by the expression. Nothing can be more infelicitous, than this member of Dr. Trevern's demonstration; which, in conjunction with the rest of his arguments, is to puzzle all the assembled champions of the Church of England, even though their luckless dumb-founded Mother should put forth through them every resource of wit and learning. Answ. p. 178. The very word *unbloody*, haplessly retained by the moderns to their own conviction and condemnation, even *itself* shews, that the authors of the Liturgies could never have held the doctrine of Transubstantiation. But, of the character of *the unbloody sacrifice* in the early Church, I have already been so copious, that it were alike useless and wearisome to be guilty of repetition, Suffice it to say, that that phrase was severally and accurately used to express, both *the eucharistic preparatory oblation of the as yet unconsecrated bread and wine*, and *the spiritual sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving*, and finally (when the notion was at length superadded to the more ancient ideas) *the consecrated bread and wine under the aspect of a commemorative symbolical sacrifice*.

4. The Liturgies further proclaim *the real presence of the victim*.

Here again Dr. Trevern remorselessly employs the stale artifice of annexing modern latin ideas to comparatively ancient ecclesiastical phraseology. To establish the circumstance of Christ's presence with the Eucharist being *real* to all worthy recipients, as Augustine and Jerome well draw the line of distinction, it is no way necessary to contend for its being *substantial*; unless indeed we be prepared to maintain, that a *spiritual* presence of the second person of the Blessed Trinity is NOT a *real* presence: and, since Christ was for our sakes a victim upon the cross, his presence, even of whatsoever nature, is of course the presence of the victim. At the same time I must remark, that Dr. Trevern has produced no instance where the old Liturgists employ any such expression, as that which he has gratuitously put into their mouths. He has given no specimen of their proclaiming *the real presence of the victim*. With respect to the word *Host* or *Sacrifice*, which some of them use; to assert, that that word means the victim Christ *substantially* or *materially* present, is, in truth, neither more nor less than to beg the very question which is disputed: a convenient process, with which the Bishop of Strasbourg, to say nothing of other diligent labourers in the same hopeful cause, is supereminently familiar.

5. But the honest inquirer will remind me, that the Liturgies, as he is credibly informed by Dr. Trevern, actually proclaim *the change of SUBSTANCE*. To assert, therefore, that he begs the question, is palpably inaccurate, not to say dishonest, on the part of his anglican opponent.

Such I readily admit to be the *information*, communicated again and again by Dr. Trevern (Discuss. Amic. vol. i. p. 431, 435. vol. ii. p. 1, 2. Answ. to Diff. of Rom. p. 130, 131, 182, 198.) for the benefit and illumination of the English Laity: but unluckily no information of this

very important description is capable of being *verified* by reference to the ancient Liturgies. The word SUBSTANCE is, purely and entirely, the Bishop's own undisputed property. Not one of the old Liturgies ever employs the expression. They pray, indeed, that *the bread and wine may be changed into the body and blood of Christ*, or (as the oldest of them all, the Clementine Liturgy, expresses it) that *the Holy Spirit would set forth this bread the body of God's Christ and this cup the blood of God's Christ* (ὅπως ἀποφῆνῃ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου): but they never pray, that *they may be changed into the SUBSTANCE of Christ's body and blood*. To serve his own ends, Dr. Trevern has been pleased to interpolate, in his assurances *repeatedly* to interpolate, the very important and indeed palmary word SUBSTANCE: by which quaint device, he first makes the authors and users of the old Liturgies pray for a *substantial* change in the elements, and then produces this forged petition as proof positive that they assuredly held the modern latin doctrine of *Transubstantiation*. In short, the matter under debate is; Whether the ancients spake of a *moral* or of a *substantial* change: and Dr. Trevern compendiously settles the point by gratuitously interpolating the word SUBSTANCE.

From this very management of his, I may remark, in passing, how feeble would have been the evidence of the written Liturgies in favour of Transubstantiation, even if they had *really*, as they *now* stand, taught any such doctrine. The almost imperceptible addition of the word SUBSTANCE; if, when the Liturgies were committed to writing or when they were somewhat previously recited *memoriter*, the phantasy of a transubstantiation had begun, under the auspices of the Priesthood, to take hold of men's minds: the almost imperceptible and per-

fectly approved addition of this *single* word would at once specifically determine the *nature* of the change. And then, in the next stage of communicated error, this supposed comparatively ancient addition of the one word SUBSTANCE, *had* it ever been actually made, might have served some zealous and rapid Trevern, as an invincible demonstration, from the *ipsissima verba* of the old Liturgies, that the doctrine of Transubstantiation had most certainly been the doctrine of the Catholic Church from the very beginning.

6. Lastly, the Liturgies proclaim *the adoration*.

Here, I admit, Dr. Trevern is not guilty of interpolation *in the letter*: but, I fear, we can scarcely acquit him of interpolation *in the spirit*. What adoration does he wish his readers to understand? Clearly, the adoration of the consecrated elements, as now practised by the Church of Rome: for, unless *this* be his meaning, his allegation is obviously quite impertinent. But *where*, in the ancient Liturgies, is any mention made of the adoration of the consecrated elements? I read, in some of them, an adoration of the Lord; and I observe, in others of them, a lowly bowing down in his presence before his altar: but, in none, can I discover any adoration of the consecrated bread and wine, either enjoined or practised. The adoration *of the elements* is, in his summary of matters to be learned from the ancient Liturgies, *tacitly* interpolated by the Bishop of Strasbourg: just as he before *expressly* interpolated the very important word SUBSTANCE. Adoration of GOD *before* his altar, united with a decent reverence of the consecrated gifts as standing in his place or as being his appointed representatives, occurs in the old Liturgies: and straightway, for the instruction and proselytation of the English Laity, Dr. Trevern's gloss, like the fabled deceptiveness of glamourie, transmutes the adoration of GOD *before* his

altar into a modern latin adoration of THE CONSECRATED ELEMENTS upon his altar.

III. In my *Supplement to the Difficulties of Romanism*, which, under the title of *The Testimony of Primitive Antiquity against the peculiarities of the Latin Church*, served as a reply to Dr. Trevern's *Answer*, I very briefly touched upon his liturgical dealings with the two points of SUBSTANCE and ADORATION. Supplem. p. 113, 114.

Mr. Husenbeth, in return, attempted to vindicate the misdemeanors of his principal: but he would have acted more wisely, had he remained silent.

1. With respect to the word SUBSTANCE, he is obliged, by the necessity of *simple matter of fact*; though, doubtless, with abundance of impotent wrath and idle abuse of myself for what he is pleased very childishly to term *my disgraceful obstinacy and my artful evasion*: with respect to the word SUBSTANCE, he is obliged to confess, that it *no where* occurs in the old Liturgies.

Such being the case, I need scarcely remark, that the angry and reluctant confession, which has been wrung from him, is tantamount to a full acknowledgment of Dr. Trevern's interpolation. In truth, it is a mere question of *fact*: nor could it possibly be answered in any other manner.

2. But, in regard to the adoration of the consecrated elements, he holds himself more fortunate: for he remarks, that, if we demand proof positive, we may have it in the following passage from the Clementine Liturgy, duly cited in evidence by Dr. Trevern.

After it is offered, each one in order should receive the body and blood of the Lord, and approach to it with the fear and reverence DUE TO the body of the King. Trevern's Answ. to Diff. of Roman. p. 202.

Après qu' il est offert, chacun en son rang doit recevoir le corps et le sang du Seigneur, et s' en approcher avec

la révérence et avec la crainte DUE AU corps du Roi. Trevern's Discuss. Anuc. vol. i. p. 407.

On this passage, thus expressed, Mr. Husenbeth, while he reviles me with all his might, as a dishonest shuffler and a wretched glosser and a captious fury and a suppresser of truth and an insinuator of falsehood, simply because I cannot, like himself, *discover* in the old Liturgies what verily is no where to be *found* in them, comments in form and manner following.

Observe the words, APPROACH TO IT. To what? Evidently the sacramental species. Therefore the sacramental species were to be adored with the fear and reverence DUE TO the body of the King of heaven and earth. Husenbeth's Reply to Supplem. p. 273.

Mr. Husenbeth's ill-advised commentary invites our attention to yet another specimen of Dr. Trevern's inveterate habit of interpolation.

The words, DUE TO, through the medium of which an enjoined fear and reverence, evidently meant to be exhibited as an act of *religious adoration*, are grammatically referred to *the body of the King*, occur no where in the original: they are purely the gratuitous addition of the Bishop of Strasbourg; an addition, moreover, which disturbs and dislocates the construction of the entire sentence.

Here, then, I apprehend, we have a critical case of surpassing curiosity.

First, a Latin Bishop, deliberately and advisedly, both in French and in English, in two different Works written at two different times, interpolates the words DUE TO, and completely distorts the construction of a whole sentence: and, next, a Latin Priest, with equal deliberateness and advisedness, brings forward, in professed evidence to an alleged fact, not the genuine words of the old Liturgy in their true construction, but the spurious

words of his superior's interpolation in an utterly false construction of the original passage.

Really, there seems to be no end of the strange liberties, which the sacerdotal gentlemen of Rome apparently deem themselves privileged to take with the ancient ecclesiastical writings. The Greek of the Liturgy says not a single syllable about *the fear and reverence DUE TO the body of the King*: nor does it give the slightest hint of any adoration being paid to the consecrated elements. It mentions, indeed, *modesty and caution*: but these terms, under the aspect of words indicating *adoration* (as Dr. Trevern and Mr. Husenbeth, mistranslating the original, would, for their own purposes, have us understand them), it refers not grammatically to *the body of the King*. On the contrary, it simply inculcates a modest and cautious reception of Christ's body and blood by each communicant: who himself, after the use of silent mental prayer, is charged, in his regular course of succession, to approach as to the body of the King almighty and eternal.

For the entire satisfaction of the honest enquirer, I subjoin the original of the passage, whence our two painful divines have learned, as they assure us on the word of a Bishop and a Priest, such very extraordinary particulars.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γινέσθω ἡ θυσία, ἐστῶτος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ προσευχομένων ἡσυχῶς· καὶ, ὅταν ἀνενεχθῇ, μεταλαμβάνετω ἐκάστη τάξις καθ' ἑαυτὴν τοῦ κυριακοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος, ἐν τάξει, μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ εὐλαβείας, ὡς βασιλέως προσερχόμενοι σώματι. Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. 57.

But, after these things, let the sacrifice be performed, the whole people standing and praying silently: and, when it shall have been offered, let each company by itself partake of the Lord's body and honourable blood,

company by company, with modesty and caution, approaching as to the body of the King.

Such is a sample of the method, by which, from the old Liturgies, Dr. Trevern and Mr. Husenbeth would demonstrate, to the hoped for entire satisfaction of the English Laity, the primitive adoration of the consecrated elements.

IV. For this disgraceful exposure, the Bishop of Strasbourg has no one to thank save himself. In the first instance, I might so far comply with Mr. Massingberd's wishes, as to remain politely silent, when I could not honestly commend. But, when my unexampled and (I fear I must confess) even *culpable* taciturnity produced no better return than the insolent exultation of a fancied triumph over supposed conscious weakness: no person can fairly expect, that, through a romantic and (as I now perceive) altogether fruitless wish to conciliate, I should any longer preserve my originally merciful and somewhat chivalrous silence. Truly, I have small pleasure in the distasteful task of publicly exhibiting the dishonesty of an uncandid and unscrupulous antagonist: but, by the extraordinary folly of Dr Trevern, freedom of choice has not been left to me. He has recklessly *courted* exposure: and he has now abundantly *received* it.

NUMBER II.

AURICULAR CONFESSION.

AURICULAR Confession to a Priest, the Church of England *allows*, and in some cases *recommends*: the Church of Rome not only *allows* and *recommends* it; but also,

as a matter of strict religious obligation, *imposes and enforces it.*

I. Such being the case, it is the business of Dr. Trevern to shew, not merely *The primitive EXISTENCE of sacerdotal auricular Confession*, but also *The primitive ENFORCEMENT of a periodical auricular Confession, through the medium of which, every mortal sin, even though by reason of its having been secretly committed occasioning no public scandal, and even though committed solely against what we Protestants arrange as the tenth commandment of the Decalogue, is required to be fully stated to a Priest, under the aspect of imperative religious obligation, and with the associated doctrine that any voluntary concealment is nothing less than absolute sacrilege.* See Concil. Trident. sess. xiv. c. 5. can. i.—xv. and Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 139.

Accordingly, in his zeal to convict the Anglican Church of error, the Bishop of Strasbourg undertakes to perform this arduous task, partly from Scripture, and partly from the evidence of Primitive Antiquity. Discuss. Amic. Lettr. xi. vol. ii. p. 138—203.

1. To discover in Scripture any explicit command either of Christ or of his Apostles, that we should periodically make to a Priest a distinct and particular confession of all our remembered mortal sins under the pain of incurring the guilt of sacrilege by deliberate and voluntary concealment, was obviously a matter altogether impossible. The Bishop, therefore, does not attempt it. Yet, what cannot be proved explicitly, may, he thinks, be proved inductively.

The power of the keys, or the right of absolution and retention, he argues, has been given by Christ to his Apostles and their lawfully constituted successors. But this power cannot be effectively exercised, without Auricular Confession as practised in the Church of Rome :

because, unless the Priest be made intimately acquainted with the misdeeds of his penitent, he cannot know the actual internal disposition of his soul; and, unless he knows the actual internal disposition of his soul, he cannot tell whether he be a fit subject to receive absolution. Therefore, by a necessary consequence from Holy Scripture, periodical Auricular Confession of our sins to a Priest is imposed upon us as a duty of strict religious obligation.

(1.) With respect to this syllogism, I might well observe, that the doctrine of absolution by a Priest, as now taught in the Latin Church, agrees but very ill with the doctrine maintained by Antiquity.

Nemo se fallat, says the venerable Cyprian even in the middle of the third century; nemo se decipiat. Solus Dominus misereri potest. Veniam peccatis, quæ in ipsum commissa sunt, solus potest ille largiri, qui peccata nostra portavit, qui pro nobis doluit, quem Deus tradidit pro peccatis nostris. Homo Deo esse non potest major: nec remittere aut donare indulgentia sua servus potest, quod in Dominum delicto graviore commissum est: ne adhuc lapsus et hoc accedat ad crimen, si nesciat esse prædictum; *Maledictus homo, qui spem habet in homine.* Dominus orandus est, Dominus nostra satisfactione placandus est; qui negantem negare se dixit, qui omne iudicium de Patre solus accepit. Cyprian. de Laps. Oper. vol. i. p. 129.

(2.) Let this, however pass: and, purely for the sake of argument, conceding the propriety of the roman doctrine of *positive absolution*, rather than enforcing the more seemly doctrine of *conditionally declarative absolution*, on the part of the Priesthood; let us, even thus, see, how Dr. Trevern's syllogism will support itself.

Now his syllogism undeniably rests altogether upon the position: that *A Priest can form no accurate judg-*

ment of the actual internal disposition of his penitent in regard to sincerity or hypocrisy, unless that penitent shall minutely specify to him, in full circumstantiality, all the recollected sins against the decalogue which he has ever committed :

On this position, the syllogism avowedly depends : and, although the same position is confidently laid down by the Council of Trent, its gross and hopeless absurdity is so enormous, that a mere statement of it is amply sufficient for its full exposure. See Concil. Trident. sess. xiv. c. 5. p. 148, 149.

2. If, however, the ENFORCEMENT of Auricular Confession as practised in the modern Church of Rome cannot be proved from Scripture ; Dr. Trevern is at any rate confident, that the primitive Church of Christ is his decided ally.

The true limits of legitimate testimony, as I have already observed, cannot, at the very utmost, be extended beyond the period of *the three first centuries*. In saying this, I mean not to allow, that Dr. Trevern can prove his point from the practice *even of a much later period*, and I might well insist upon the speedy abrogation of the novelty of *private* confession on the part of the Greek Church about the end of the fourth century by reason of its soon experienced grievously immoral consequences : but I simply wish to intimate, that our legitimate inquiries must, on the principles of historic evidence, be confined within those most sufficiently ample boundaries. See Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 19. Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. c. 16.

From the three first centuries, then, Dr. Trevern adduces, in evidence, Clement of Rome, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, and Cyprian.

In pursuance of his own references, I have followed him to all those writers : and the result has been precisely

such, as, from his ordinary loose style of pretended demonstration, might well have been anticipated.

NOT ONE of his alleged witnesses says a single syllable, in regard to *the primitive ecclesiastical enforcement of a periodically private and particular confession to a Priest, under the aspect that such a confession is of strict religious obligation and necessity.*

(1.) His first witness is the Roman Clement: and his management of that author is perfectly characteristic.

In the passage cited from Clement, he commences his operations with interpolating the word ALL: and then he deliberately argues from his own interpolation; as if Clement had intimated, that we are bound to confess *all* our sins to a Priest. Yet Clement himself merely says: that *We ought to repent of our sins here, because there will be no room for confession and repentance hereafter.* Of the duty of universal private confession to a Priest, he absolutely gives not so much as a hint.

Ἔως ἐσμεν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ, ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἃ ἐπράξαμεν πονηρὰ, μετανοήσωμεν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας, ἵνα σωθῶμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου, ἕως ἔχωμεν καιρὸν μετανοίας. Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐξελεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου, οὐκέτι δυνάμεθα ἐκεῖ ἐξομολογήσασθαι ἢ μετανοεῖν ἔτι Clem. Rom. Epist. ad Corinth. ii. § 8.

(2.) His second witness is Irenæus: and, for evidence, he refers us to two several passages in the Work of that Father against Heresies.

The first of these two passages gives us an account of a worthless gnosticising impostor named *Marcus*, who induced many silly women to join his party, and who then most infamously abused his influence over them: and it finally states (the matter, I suppose, which constitutes Dr. Trevern's facile demonstration), that some of these women, on their repentance, made a full *confession*

of the impurities into which they had been seduced. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. i. c. 9.

The second of the two passages tells us, that the heretic Cerdon (in his better days, I do suppose) often went to church and made *confession* (*sæpe in ecclesiam veniens, et exomologesin faciens*): but, whether, by the necessity of discipline, he made a periodical private confession to a Priest duly seated in a confessional box, or whether he joined only in a general public liturgical confession of sin to Almighty God, we receive no information from Irenæus. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 4.

(3.) His third witness is Tertullian: and never, surely, was a witness more infelicitously selected.

Tertullian, in the place referred to, says not a word respecting *the duty of private auricular confession to a Priest*: he speaks only of public penitential confession of gross and scandalous sin, made to THE LORD before his ALTAR, in the presence of the whole assembled congregation.

Exomologesis est, qua delictum DOMINO nostrum confitemur: non, quidem, ut ignaro; sed quatenus satisfactio confessione disponitur, confessione pœnitentia nascitur, pœnitentia Deus mitigatur. Itaque exomologesis prosternendi et humilificandi hominis disciplina est, conversationem injungens misericordiæ illicem. De ipso quoque habitu atque victu mandat, sacco et cineri incubare, corpus sordibus obscurare, animum mœroribus dejicere,—jejunii preces alere, ingemiscere, lachrymari et mugire dies noctesque ad Dominum Deum tuum, Presbyteris advolvi et ARIS DEI adgeniculari, omnibus fratribus legationes deprecationis suæ injungere. Tertull. de Pœnit. § ix. Oper. p. 483, 484.

(4.) His fourth witness is Origen.

This author recommends, in the place referred to for

the purpose of establishing *the primitive obligatoriness of private auricular confession to a Priest*, that, when sins press heavily upon the conscience, the offender should confidentially state his case to some discreet and experienced adviser, rather than smother it within his own bosom; a recommendation, in the propriety of which, few, at least in some peculiar cases, will refuse to concur: but, whether any individual should choose to follow his recommendation (which exactly corresponds with that in our anglican warning for the celebration of the holy communion), was, so far as respects the point of *obligation*, purely optional. Orig. Homil. ii. in Psalm xxxvii.

(5.) His fifth witness is Cyprian.

The admirable Bishop of Carthage is so strangely wide of the mark in respect to the avowed purpose of his adduction by Dr. Trevern, that, were I not tolerably well acquainted with that disingenuous Prelate's humour of catching at straws, I should really admire his splendid audacity of reference and citation.

In the *Discourse on the lapsed*, to which we are invited for evidence in favour of *the primitive enforcement of private periodical auricular confession to a Priest as now enjoined by the Church of Rome*, Cyprian never once even so much as mentions the subject. He is treating, throughout the whole Discourse, of an *entirely different* topic. *Confession*, indeed, he very largely mentions: but then the *ONLY* confession, of which *he* speaks, is that public confession of apostasy from the Faith united with the long probative humility of public penitence, which the strict discipline of the primitive Church required of all those who in time of persecution had through terror lapsed into pagan idolatry, ere they could be readmitted to the privilege of full ecclesiastical

communion with the permanently stedfast and faithful. Cyprian. de Laps. Oper. vol. i. p. 121—138.

II. Such is the evidence, by a gross misrepresentation of which the Bishop of Strasbourg would unblushingly persuade our English Laity, that a forced system of periodical private confession to a Priest, altogether *identical* with the present offensive and mischievous imposition of the Roman Church, prevailed from the beginning in the Church Catholic.

Nor is this the whole extent of Dr. Trevern's unwarrantable paltering. He likewise has the actual effrontery to adduce, as if it were scriptural, though in plain defiance of very plain Greek, the strange unauthorised distinction between *mental repentance* and *bodily penance*, which is one of the many cherished delights of the Latin Church: just as if, in the original of the New Testament, two entirely different words were used to express two entirely different ideas.

Repentance, he tells us, is the sole condition of the Reformation: but this is not sufficient: we must also *confess* and *do penance*.

(See Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 202, 203.) In the place here referred to, he makes a distinction, between *le repentir*, and *le faire pénitence* or *le remplir les œuvres de pénitence qui nous sont prescrites pour satisfaire à la justice divine*. This last phrase, *works of penance*, he seems to have fabricated out of St. Paul's expression, ἄξια τῆς μετανοίας ἔργα, *works worthy of repentance* or *works meet for repentance* or (in other words) *a holy conversation suitable to repentance*. Acts xxvi. 20.

Now I beg to ask: *Where is there a single passage in the whole New Testament, which enjoins the performance of a latin penance as necessary to eternal salvation?*

An uneducated Romanist, who peradventure has read the translations authorised by his Church, will promptly reply, that *Penance is enjoined again and again in Holy Scripture*. But the Bishop of Strasbourg is *not* an uneducated Romanist. *He* knows perfectly well, that the expressions *penance* and *to do penance*, which perpetually occur with most ridiculous absurdity in the romish versions of the New Testament, do not exhibit the true idea of the original words *μετάνοια* and *μετανοεῖν*. These words, from the very necessity of their etymology, relate, not to the outward austerities which the Latin Church enjoins under the name of *Penance*, but purely and exclusively to that moral change of mind which we denominate *Repentance*. Nay, what renders Dr. Trevern still more inexcusable, is the notorious fact, that, to escape absolute nonsense, the romish versions are sometimes actually compelled to exhibit the true sense of the original. Thus, while they render one and the same greek word *μετανοεῖν*, sometimes *to repent*, and sometimes *to do penance*: the Bishop of Strasbourg is not ashamed to attack the hated Reformation, on the score that it rejects *the necessity of bodily penance*, and requires only *mental repentance evidencing itself (as St. Paul speaks) in meet or appropriate works of holiness*; thus insinuating, what is palpably contrary to fact, that the phraseology of the New Testament *equally* inculcates the *two perfectly distinct* ideas by *two perfectly distinct* words, and that the Reformation arbitrarily adopts the *one* inculcated idea while it rejects the *other* no less inculcated idea.

By this lamentable, and (I fear) systematic mistranslation of the greek original, thousands and millions may have been seduced by the apostatic Church of Rome into a scheme of mere unauthorised and misdeemed meritorious will-worship.

NUMBER III.

SATISFACTION.

In point of *principle* or of theoretical *rationalè*, the fruitful parent of expiatory penance, expiatory good deeds, purgatory, indulgences, and supererogation is the vain phantasy so congenial to our proud though fallen nature, the phantasy of *Meritorious Satisfaction*.

This deeply rooted and widely pullulating heresy, which lies at the bottom of all false schemes of religion whether pagan or papal or mohammedan or socinian, is cherished in all its baneful luxuriance by the Church of Rome: and the account, which is very accurately given of it by the Bishop of Strasbourg, may be briefly stated in manner following.

The meritorious passion of Christ upon the cross delivers us only from the eternal punishment of sin: in a temporal point of view, we ourselves must make satisfaction for it to the offended justice of God. Now this satisfaction is made, partly by our personally undergoing certain penalties, and partly by our performing certain meritorious good works. With respect to the penalties, they consist of bodily penance here and of the pains of purgatory hereafter: with respect to the meritorious or expiatory good works (œuvres expiatoires), they consist of abstinence and fasting and the care of widows or orphans and alms-giving and the visitation of the sick; works, Dr. Trevern observes, which in the Latin Church are reckoned among the most important satisfactions. Discuss. Amic. Lettr. xii. vol. ii. p. 204—225.

I. For such a scheme of doctrine as this; I speak in regard to its *principle* or *rationalè*: the question is, whe-

ther there be any foundation, either in Holy Scripture, or in the avowed faith of the really primitive Church.

1. Dr. Trevern, according to his wont, confidently asserts: that Christ made satisfaction for our sins, *only* so far as to exempt us from *eternal* punishment; and that we ourselves must supply the defect in our Redeemer's expiation, partly by undergoing *temporal* punishment on earth or in purgatory, partly by performing certain meritorious actions in the way of an expiatory satisfaction to God for our transgressions. This doctrine he boldly avows to be the undoubted mind of Christ: and, as such, he claims to prove it from Scripture itself.

What, then, is the amount of his promised demonstration? Truly, his meagre proof from Scripture is limited, after all his lofty grandiloquence and endlessly prolix declamation, to *the mourning of Job among the ashes on account of his trials, to the sackcloth repentance of David and Ahab and the King of Nineveh, and to a strange perversion of a very plain passage of St. Paul wherein the Apostle speaks of the afflictions of Christ the head being filled up in the afflictions of his mystical body the Church.*

How these are to demonstrate, that *either temporal sufferings or the performance of good deeds can make an expiatory satisfaction to God's justice for our varied transgressions*; the lofty enterprize undertaken by the Bishop of Strasbourg: I must even confess myself utterly unable to comprehend. There is not, so far as I can discover, the very slightest perceptible coherence between his premises and his conclusion. When thrown into the useful form of a syllogism, which will distinctly exhibit the real amount of Dr. Trevern's prodigal verbosity, his whole argument runs in manner following.

Job mourned among the ashes on account of his trials: David and Ahab and the king of Nineveh repented in

sackcloth : and the afflictions of Christ the head are still harmoniously prolonged in the afflictions of his suffering body the Church. THEREFORE, temporal punishments endured, and good deeds performed, are able, by their expiatory meritoriousness, to satisfy the strict justice of our heavenly Father.

I have rarely fortuned to light upon a more perfect specimen of logical inconclusiveness.

2. If the proof from Scripture be thus palpably and even ludicrously defective, the testimony of the early Fathers to a doctrine altogether unscriptural could only benefit the Church of Rome so far as establishing the deplorable fact of a very rapid and baneful corruption.

Dr. Trevern quotes, Tertullian of the second and third centuries, Cyprian of the third century, Ambrose of the fourth century, and Augustine of the fourth and fifth centuries, as teaching, that *We make satisfaction to God by the temporal pains which we endure.*

If these writers employ such language in the sense annexed to it by the Latin Church, I can have no hesitation in saying, that they speak without a shadow of authority from Scripture. But I greatly doubt, whether they mean to convey the precise idea, which the Bishop would ascribe to them. We all know, that, in the classical idiom, the same phrase indifferently signifies *to give satisfaction* and *to suffer punishment*. This very simple circumstance is probably the true key to the phraseology employed by certain of the Fathers. When they spake of a man making satisfaction to God by any manner of temporal suffering ; they meant not, I apprehend, to intimate, that his pains were meritoriously capable of expiating his transgressions, but only that in the course of God's just moral government sin ought to have merited punishment as its companion even though the offender might ultimately be saved.

In this view of the matter, I seem to be confirmed by the language of Ambrose, so late as the last quarter of the fourth century : language, which is of no very easy reconciliation with the theory advocated by Dr. Trevern.

Utinam hanc stipulam in messe, hoc est, inanem avenam fructus mei, non abjiciat, sed colligat—Ergo et agendam poenitentiam, et tribuendam veniam, credere nos convenit : ut veniam, tamen, tanquam ex fide speremus, non tanquam ex debito. Ambros. de Poenit. lib. ii. c. 8. Oper. col. 191.

Would that the Lord would not reject, but collect, this my mere stubble in the harvest, these empty wild oats of my fructification!—It is fitting, therefore, to believe, both that penance is to be performed, and that pardon is to be granted : nevertheless, in such manner, that we should hope for pardon, as from faith, not as from debt.

Be this, however, as it may, if we must refer to the ancients for the purpose of ascertaining the real doctrine of the primitive Church, doubtless the testimony and authority of St. Paul's own fellow-labourer, the Roman Clement, who flourished in the first century and who was taught by the Apostles, are incomparably more valuable and more decisive, than those of the much later Fathers, Tertullian and Cyprian and Ambrose and Augustine.

Πάντες οὖν ἔδοξάσθησαν καὶ ἐμεγαλύνθησαν, οὐ δι' αὐτῶν ἢ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν τῆς δικαιοπραγίας ἧς κατειργάσαντο, ἀλλὰ διὰ θελήματος αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν, διὰ θελήματος αὐτοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ κληθέντες, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν δικαιούμεθα, οὐδὲ διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας σοφίας, ἢ συνέσεως, ἢ εὐσεβείας, ἢ ἔργων ὧν κατειργασάμεθα ἐν ὁσιότητι καρδίας· ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς πίστεως, δι' ἧς πάντας τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ὁ παντοκράτωρ Θεὸς ἐδικαίωσεν· ᾧ ἔστω δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. Τί οὖν ποιήσωμεν, ἀδελφοί; Ἀγάσωμεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγαθοποιίας, καὶ ἐγκαταλείπωμεν τὴν ἀγά-

πην; Μηδαμῶς τοῦτο εἶσαι ὁ Δεσπότης ἐφ' ἡμῖν γεγενηθῆ-
 ναι. Ἄλλὰ σπεύσωμεν, μετὰ ἐκτενείας καὶ προθυμίας, πᾶν
 ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐπιτελεῖν. Clem. Rom. Epist. ad Corinth.
 i. § 32, 33.

All, therefore, have been glorified and magnified, not through themselves or through their own works of righteousness which they have done, but through the will of God. Wherefore, being called through his will in Christ Jesus, we are justified, not through ourselves, or through our own wisdom or intellect or piety, or through the works which we have wrought in holiness of heart; but through faith, by which the Almighty God has justified all from everlasting. To him be glory and honour through all ages! What then shall we do, brethren? Shall we be slothful from the performance of good deeds, and shall we forsake charity? The Lord forbid that such should be our case! Rather let us hasten, with all vehemence and alacrity, to accomplish every good work.

II. Of the mishapen brood, which universally spring from the unscriptural tenet of *Satisfaction*, I have already noticed, at very considerable length, the doctrine of Purgatory. It only remains, therefore, to offer a few observations upon the rest of its offspring.

1. In Penance, simply viewed as an *outward expression of inward Repentance*, there is certainly nothing blameworthy: and, if any individual finds himself spiritually profited by bodily mortification, he is perfectly justified in his use of it. Thus, for instance, fasting is recognised by the Anglican Church and (I believe) by every other Reformed Church, as a beneficial mean of putting our souls in a proper posture to meet their God. But, when Penance is taken up under the vain notion, that *it is an expiatory deed which is available to satisfy the justice of the Almighty*: then, instead of being useful, it becomes positively mischievous; because it at once

advances a claim of merit on our part, and removes us from the only sure foundation of the merit of Christ.

Dr. Trevern asks, whether *to appease the anger of God* and *to satisfy his justice* do not ultimately come to the same thing?

I readily answer, NO. The difference consists in the total dissimilarity of ideas conveyed respectively by those two phrases. Sincere repentance, offered up through the alone merits of Christ, is doubtless available to *appease God's anger*, when we have sinned against him: but such repentance does nothing to *satisfy his justice* in the way of making a meritorious expiation. To talk, indeed, of *the expiatory meritoriousness of repentance*, is a plain contradiction in terms. By the very act of repentance, we acknowledge ourselves to be *sinner*s. But what possible expiatory meritoriousness can there be in a sorrowful acknowledgment and direct confession that we are great and undeserving offenders? Clearly, there can be none: unless, indeed, we are prepared to maintain the actual existence of that moral paradox, *a meritorious sinner* or *a holy transgressor*.

2. The various good deeds, enumerated by the Bishop of Strasbourg, all certainly, *in themselves*, deserve our approbation: yet, through noxious admixtures and empirical adulterations, the very best things may be turned even into a deadly poison.

We reformed Catholics, quite as fully as the unreformed Catholics of the Roman Church, allow the *excellence*, and (under *one* aspect) the *necessity*, of good works. But this is not precisely the question. Dr. Trevern clearly deems them *meritorious*: for, unless such be their supposed character, I perceive not how they can make an expiatory satisfaction to God for our transgressions. Now it is under this precise idea of their alleged *meritoriousness*, that the language and doctrine

of the Latin Church are by us thought to be objectionable. *We acknowledge*, says the accurate Hooker, A DUTIFUL NECESSITY of doing well : but the MERITORIOUS DIGNITY of doing well we utterly renounce. Disc. of Justific. § vii. This, I believe, is the doctrine, not only of the Church of England, but of all the Reformed Churches: the doctrine, not only of all the Reformed Churches, but of that venerable and most ancient witnessing Church, which, by a long line of succession connecting itself immediately with the primitive ages, may claim the high and extraordinary praise of *not* being a Reformed Church, simply because it *required not* reformation. With the depressed, but unextinguishable, Church of the Piedmontese Valleys, we all, if I mistake not, agree in this vitally important point. We confess the DUTY, but we reject the MERIT, of good works: and, viewing them under that aspect, we thence consistently deny the possibility of their making any expiatory satisfaction to God for our transgressions. Adopting the language of the judicious Hooker, *we dare not call God to reckoning, as if we had him in our debt-books. The little fruit which we have in holiness, it is, God knoweth, corrupt and unsound. We put no confidence at all in it: we challenge nothing in the world for it. Our constant suit to God is and must be, to bear with our infirmities, and to pardon our offences.* Disc. of Justific. § vii.

In this lowly estimate even of our best performances, we hold ourselves to be warranted, not only by the express decision of Scripture, but by the entire analogy of the Christian Faith. So far from arithmetically calculating a proportionable correspondence between *merit* and *reward*; we deem it more seemly, to adopt the words which our Saviour Christ hath prepared for us, and to confess that when we have done all we have still

done nothing more than our bare DUTY: instead of ascribing to our works any even remote possibility of making AN EXPIATORY SATISFACTION to God's strict justice for our many evil deeds; the whole analogy of Faith, as propounded luminously to the primitive Roman Church by the great Apostle himself, compels us to take up a doctrinal system diametrically opposite. Luke xvii. 10. Rom. iii. 19—28. v. 16—21. xi. 6. The doctrine of MERIT, and the doctrine of DUTY, in short, lie at the very root of the utterly irreconcilable differences between the lapsed Church of Rome and the reformed Church of England.

3. Indulgences sprang out of the penitential discipline of the primitive Church.

Persons, who had lapsed into idolatry, or who had been guilty of any scandalous crime, were separated by ecclesiastical authority from the body of the faithful: nor were they readmitted, until, by a course of austere penitence, they had sufficiently evinced their sincerity and their amendment. The Church, however, which, like every other well-organised society, possessed and exercised the power of ejecting or receiving members, was induced, when she had well-grounded reason to believe repentance sincere, occasionally to relax the severity or to shorten the time of this required probation. When that was done, the grace, accorded to the penitent, was naturally styled *an indulgence*.

Such, and such only, were the indulgences of the primitive Church: and I know not what objection can be rationally taken to the system of her moral discipline.

But, when the unscriptural notion of *a meritorious expiatory satisfaction to God's justice* was annexed to the ancient probationary penance required by the Church as an evidence of sincerity, the same pestilent idea infected

also with its antichristian poison the simple primitive indulgence.

If self-inflicted punishment for sin, or punishment inflicted by ecclesiastical authority, could make an expiatory satisfaction to the divine justice : then the power of remitting such punishment was equivalent to the power of declaring, that the Church, according to her own good pleasure and discretion, could assign to the divine justice a smaller measure of expiatory satisfaction than *that* justice would otherwise have claimed.

Now this extraordinary speculation, in pursuance of which the Church bountifully undertook to determine, that God not unfrequently was and ought to be satisfied with a lighter degree of expiation, than his own justice, if left to itself, would have exacted from the offender : this extraordinary speculation sprang, naturally and of necessity, from the new doctrine of *an Expiatory Satisfaction to God*, engrafted upon the primitive very harmless or rather very laudable discipline of penance and indulgence. Discuss. Amic. Lettr. xiii.

The revolting arrogance of so strange a phantasy, when plainly exhibited in its true colours, must, I think, shock every well-regulated mind.

To imagine, that the divine justice would agree to be satisfied with a smaller quantity of expiation than the amount of its original requirement, and that each Priest enjoyed the singular privilege of adjusting the terms of this yet more singular bargain between God and his creature, is contrary alike to Scripture and to every consistent idea which we can form of the divine attributes.

Yet this theory, which, if really founded upon the Bible, would drive every thinking mind into absolute infidelity, was but the legitimate offspring of the new doc-

trine of *Expiatory Satisfaction* as superadded to the old penitential discipline of the Church.

(1.) We are assured, however, by the adventurous Bishop of Strasbourg, that Indulgences, viewed (be it carefully observed) under the present precise aspect, rest upon the authority of St. Paul.

The great Apostle, says he, *teaches us positively, that to the Church belongs the double right of prescribing and of mitigating satisfactory punishments.* Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 227.

For the establishment of this assertion, he refers to two connected passages in the two Epistles to the Corinthians. 1 Corinth. v. 1—5. 2 Corinth. ii. 6—10.

According to the ancient and godly discipline of the primitive Church, the Corinthians, as St. Paul expresses himself, had delivered an incestuous member of their community *unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.* 1 Corinth. v. 5. This they did under the immediate sanction of the anxious Apostle: and, afterward, when they were satisfied as to the sincerity of the man's contrition, they pardoned him the disgrace which he had brought upon the Church, and readmitted him to the enjoyment of his former privileges as a baptised Christian. The circumstance and the ground of his readmission were communicated to St. Paul: and St. Paul, in reply, informed them; that, as *they* had forgiven the offender, so likewise did *he* for their sakes in the person of Christ. 2 Corinth. ii. 10.

Such was the very simple transaction, from which, with his wonted rapidity of facile inference, Dr. Trevern has learned, for the information of the English Laity, that, by the special authority of St. Paul, *to the Church belongs the double right of prescribing and of mitigating satisfactory punishments*: punishments, that is to

say, according to his avowed doctrine, which should be able to make a meritorious expiatory satisfaction, not merely to the outraged Church viewed as a body-corporate, but even to the divine justice itself.

(2.) Bad, however, as indulgences may be when viewed even under the present most unscriptural aspect, their evil admitted of a still higher degree of sublimation.

The Bishop, like a prudent controvertist, treads lightly over ground which assuredly is not hallowed. What was the crying nuisance, which first roused the honest indignation of the great and much calumniated Luther? The Pope, commencing business as a wholesale dealer, actually drove a gainful pecuniary traffic in ecclesiastical indulgences! Instruments of this description, by which the labour of making a fancied meritorious satisfaction to God by penance or by good works or by the fabled pains of Purgatory was pared down to the dwarfish standard that best suited the purse of a wealthy offender, were sold in the lump, to a tribe of monastic vagabonds, by the Prelate who claimed to be upon earth the divinely appointed Vicar of Christ. These men purchased them of the Pope, by as good a wholesale bargain as they could make: and then, after the mode of itinerant pedlars, they disposed of them in retail, each indulgence of course bearing an adequate premium, to those who affected such articles of commerce. The madness of superstition could be strained no higher: the Reformation burst forth like a torrent: and Luther, with the long-suppressed Bible in his hand, gloriously merited and obtained the eternal hatred of an incorrigible Priesthood.

4. It is worthy of observation, that Dr. Trevern is wholly silent as to the imaginary fund, whence the inexhaustible stock of papal indulgences is supplied.

Whether he was himself ashamed of the doctrine of supererogation, or whether he thought it imprudent to

exhibit such a portent before the eyes of his english laic correspondent, I shall not pretend to determine. From whatever motive, he omits it altogether. Yet the lucrative absurdity is in no wise obsolete. We have the authority of the late sovereign Pontiff himself to assert that it still, even in the present day, continues to exist. Let the tale be recited in his own words: for no other can be found equally appropriate.

We have resolved, says Pope Leo in the year 1824, by virtue of the authority given to us from heaven, fully to unlock that sacred treasure, composed of the merits, sufferings, and virtues, of Christ our Lord and of his Virgin-Mother and of all the Saints, which the author of human salvation has entrusted to our dispensation— To you, therefore, venerable brethren, Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, it belongs to explain with perspicuity the power of Indulgences: what is their efficacy in the remission, not only of the canonical penance, but also of the temporal punishment due to the divine justice for past sin; and what succour is afforded, out of this heavenly treasure, from the merits of Christ and his Saints, to such as have departed real penitents in God's love, yet before they had duly satisfied by fruits worthy of penance for sins of commission and omission, and are now purifying in the fire of Purgatory, that an entrance may be opened for them into their eternal country where nothing defiled is admitted. Bull for the observ. of the Jubilee. A.D. 1825.

From a stock of merits, supplemental to the otherwise too scanty merits of Christ, and contributed by the dead Saints over and above what was necessary for themselves: from this heterogeneous stock, which by special divine authority the Pope *even now* actually claims to have at his own disposal, indulgences are issued, which shall not only remit the canonical penance imposed by the Church

and thus liberate the fortunate possessors from the temporal punishment in this world due for past sin to the divine justice, but which shall also open the very doors of Purgatory for the blissful escape of those faithful suffering spirits who departed this life without having made full satisfaction for their iniquities by fruits worthy of penance !

The time will come, it was long since foretold, when they will not endure sound doctrine: but, after their own lusts, shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears. And they shall turn away their ears from THE TRUTH, and shall be turned unto FABLES. 2 Tim. iv. 3, 4.

NUMBER IV.

ANGLICAN ORDERS.

THE Bishop of Strasbourg, in a tone of dogmatism which more prudently as well as more decorously might well have been omitted, has taken upon himself, for the honest purpose of perplexing his English Layman, to decide, that the Orders of the Anglican Church are invalid, and consequently that our pretended Clergy are mere Laics without any legitimate apostolical call to the ministration of God's word and sacraments. *Discuss. Amic. Lettr. i. vol. i. p. 1—14.*

Every thing, says this unprovoked calumniator of his brethren, which has been done in the Church of England under Elisabeth, has been done without right and without a shadow of possible competency. The whole is radically null, in the commencement; null, during its present existence; null, so long as it shall continue to exist.

These truths are not less clear to the intellect, than broad daylight is to the visual organs. Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 408.

I. It is somewhat remarkable : that Dr. Trevern should carefully specify, as luminaries of the Gallican Church, Perron and Morin and Petau and Vansleb and Renaudot and Le Brun and Arnauld and Nicole (Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 397.); and yet that he should have been as totally silent respecting the very learned and the very able Courayer, as if no such individual had ever existed. Nevertheless, on the precise point of the English Ordinations, this identical Courayer was the professed opponent of Renaudot, one of the writers mentioned by him with so much approbation.

While Dr. Trevern was engaged in the charitable and doubtless (according to the title of his Book) very *amicable* occupation of strenuously reviling, to an English Layman, the Orders of the Anglican Church : while he was diligently employed in assuring his correspondent, that, from the reign of Elisabeth, every thing was null ; null yesterday, null to day, null to-morrow, null to the very end of time : why did he not inform his meditated proselyte, that one of the ablest defences of the validity of our Ordinations was actually written ; not by an individual among ourselves, but by a Latin Ecclesiastic ; not by a Latin Ecclesiastic of some obscure and easily overlooked district, but by a native of the always distinguished country to which Dr. Trevern himself owes the no small honour of his own origination ?

Was the Bishop of Strasbourg ignorant of the existence of the Work of Courayer ? If so : how shall we deem so scantily instructed a controvertist in any wise competent to step forward for the purpose of gratuitously attacking the Church of England ?

Was the Bishop of Strasbourg well acquainted with the Work of Courayer? If so: why did he not, in all fairness, refer his English friend to that masterly production; in order that, after perusing his own crude and hasty invectives, the Layman might have an opportunity of learning the well argued and well established sentiments of another French Romanist, who, without any great derogation from Dr. Trevern, may certainly, in point of talents and acquirements, be pronounced at the least not his inferior?

However we are to account for the fact, yet assuredly it *is* a fact, that the Gallican Prelate, while amicably occupied in the hopeful task of vilifying our English Ordinations, preserves a most ominous silence respecting the important Work of Courayer, entitled *Dissertation sur la validité des Ordinations des Anglois et sur la succession des Evêques de l' Eglise Anglicane, avec les preuves justificatives des faits avancez dans cet Ouvrage.*

II. When the first edition of the *Difficulties of Romanism* was published, I take shame to myself, even though an Englishman, that I had never perused the Work of Courayer: for, had I done so, I should have judged my own very brief and summary defence of the Anglican Church plainly superfluous.

But, if I, an Englishman but little conversant in Gallic literature, thus take shame to myself for having never read the Work of a French author: how shall we estimate the unenviable predicament, in which Dr. Trevern, *himself* a Frenchman, must submit to be placed?

Has he read, or has he not read, the Work of his own fellow-countryman, the Work of his own fellow-religionist?

Let the question be answered as it may, the not very agreeable alternative has already been stated. In his

attack upon our English Ordinations, he must even be content to take his choice between disgraceful ignorance and deliberate dishonesty.

III. Courayer, himself a dutiful child of *the mother and mistress of all Churches*, pronounces, as a matter of course, us unlucky Anglicans to be graceless heretics and mischievous schismatics. *That* standing piece of popish civility were to be expected alike, whether he really in his heart deemed us so, or whether he prudently judged any urbane concession on such long since established points to be bad policy.

But, while he will not flatter us, either as to our doctrinal faith, or as to our ecclesiastical independence: he settles the perfect canonical validity of our Orders upon such a basis of facts and authorities, as a much stronger arm than that of Dr. Trevern, even though aided and abetted by the polemical prowess of Mr. Husenbeth, will not be able to overturn.

All the disingenuous assertions of the Bishop of Strasbourg, duly retailed at second hand by the indiscriminating zeal of his english coadjutor, had already, more than a century ago, been distinctly met and admirably exposed to well deserved contempt by the learned and able Courayer. From that lingering delight of Mr. Husenbeth the anile figment of the Nag's Head Tavern *retrospectively*, down to the modern labours of Dr. Trevern and his editorial ally *prospectively*, the subject, through the most stubborn of all arguments, *that which is built upon the direct evidence of OFFICIALLY RECORDED FACTS*, had been completely set at rest by a singularly powerful controvertist, who to succeeding examiners has left nothing to be added and nothing to be desired.

1. Parker of Canterbury, from whom descend all our English Ordinations, and whose own ordination consequently is the turning hinge of the dispute, was conse-

crated at Lambeth, on the seventeenth day of December in the year of grace 1559, by Barlow, Scory, Coverdale and Hodgkins.

Respecting the episcopal consecration of the three last, anterior to their joining in the consecration of Parker, there is no dispute, as there can be no doubt: because it appears upon the public official registers. The sole question is that of the episcopal consecration of Barlow: consequently, the sole question is, whether Barlow was himself a Bishop or only a Presbyter when he joined in the consecration of Parker.

(1.) Now, even if the anterior episcopal consecration of Barlow could not be established, still I see not, how the validity of Parker's consecration could thence be disputed. In that case, his consecration would have been performed by three acknowledged Bishops, having a Presbyter as their consentient assessor: and the concurrence of *three* Bishops, though I know not how the primitive apostolic necessity of that *full* tale could be easily demonstrated, has ever been deemed quite amply sufficient even by the most rigid canonist.

True: as we may fancy the triumphant eagerness of those two accomplished ecclesiastical antiquaries, Dr. Trevern and Mr. Husenbeth, to exclaim: *True: but the uncanonically presumptuous assistance of a Presbyter renders null and void the whole unseemly transaction.*

Verily, this *possible* objection, which I have amused myself with stating, would come with a peculiarly bad grace from our two adventurous Romanists: for, if it be valid, alas for our entire apostolical succession, both Latin and Anglican! The learned Dr. Fletcher, as Mr. Husenbeth calls him, pronounces the alleged *doubtful and fearful uncertainty*, attendant upon our English Orders, to be an *awful consideration*: yet, if their soundness be thus wrapped in *uncertainty*, the mischief,

I fear, will have been perpetrated a trifle more than exactly one thousand years before the consecration of Matthew Parker. Most unluckily for our two amicable assailants of the Anglican Church, it stands upon record; that, in the year 558, Pope Pelagius I. was consecrated Bishop even of Rome herself by no more than two Bishops assisted by a single concurring Presbyter. *Dum non essent Episcopi, qui eum ordinarent, inventi sunt duo Episcopi, Joannes de Perusio et Bonus de Ferentino, et Andreas Presbyter de Ostia: et ordinaverunt eum.* Lib. Pontifical. in vit. Pelagii I. The consecration, therefore, of Archbishop Parker, even if we concede the mere Presbyterism of Barlow, will be more canonical than that of Pope Pelagius, by the precise amount of *one* Bishop: for, while the Pope could boast of only *two* episcopal consecrators, the Archbishop might honestly rejoice in *three*.

Mr. Husenbeth remarks, I observe, that, *if Barlow himself was no Bishop, Mr. Faber will admit, that he could not have made Parker a Bishop.*

Certainly, on such a supposition, Mr. Faber will very readily admit, that Barlow *alone* could not have conferred episcopacy upon Parker: and he trusts, that, in return, Mr. Husenbeth will with equal readiness admit, that Andrew the Presbyter of Ostia could not *alone* have conferred episcopacy upon Pope Pelagius. If, however, Mr. Husenbeth should still magnanimously contend for the invalidity of our English Orders on the favourite plea that Barlow was only a Presbyter, I shall tremble for the soundness of his own *ordination* and his *mission* to boot; even to say nothing of the *jurisdiction*, which Bishop Trevern professes, as a most essential point, to have specially received from the hands of Pope Pelagius's successor.

(2.) This parenthetical statement, *de propria liberalitate*,

I add to the overwhelming proofs of Courayer: for, in good sooth, so fully has he established the fact of Barlow's own episcopal consecration, that it may well be deemed sportively superfluous. I shall give a very brief and imperfect account of his evidence, referring the honest inquirer to the Dissertation itself for his further more ample satisfaction.

The *name* of Barlow, it is conceded, does not appear upon any register of episcopal consecrations now extant: but the *fact* of his consecration is demonstrated by such a mass of circumstantial testimony, that it cannot be set aside without the introduction of an universal scepticism.

In truth, if we are to reject the consecration of Barlow or even (as Dr. Fletcher speaks) deem it fearfully uncertain, *simply* because it appears not upon any extant register: we must, for the self-same reason, reject, or at least deem *fearfully uncertain*, the consecration of various Bishops, respecting whose actual consecration, however, not a shadow of doubt was ever entertained. Fox of Hereford, Sampson of Chichester, Bell of Worcester, Day of Chichester, Latimer of Worcester, Withe of Lincoln, Bayne of Lichfield, Turberville of Exeter, Hopton of Norwich, Godwell of St. Asaph, and even the redoubtable popish persecutor Gardiner of Winchester, stand *all* in the same predicament with Barlow, and present *all* to Dr. Fletcher and Mr. Husenbeth the same appalling topic of *awful consideration*: nor can we establish the fact of their several consecrations, save by exactly the same process as that through which the fact of Barlow's consecration is established; namely, *undeniable circumstantial evidence deduced from recorded public official acts and from the well preserved rolls of Parliament*.

If, however, some determined modern Romanist should profess himself dissatisfied *alike* and *equally*, with the

testimony arising from *the yet extant commission of Henry VIII to the Archbishop of Canterbury for the consecration of Barlow*, with the testimony arising from *the yet extant investiture of Barlow by the same Prince with the temporalities of the See of St. David's*, with the testimony arising from *the two yet extant writs of summons to Parliament addressed to Barlow as Bishop of St. David's*, and with the testimony arising from *the yet extant deed of translation on the part of still the same Prince by which Barlow was removed from St. David's to Bath-and-Wells*: he will scarcely object to the equally extant testimony of his favourite sovereign Queen Mary, as it appears in her *commission to consecrate Bourne to the see of Bath-and-Wells then vacant by the deprivation of William Barlow the last Bishop thereof*. This last instrument I subjoin.

Regina, omnibus Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, vel aliis quibuscumque, quorum in hac parte intererit, salutem.

Vacante nuper sede episcopali infra ecclesiam nostram cathedralem Wellensem per deprivationem et amotionem ultimi Episcopi ibidem (Will. Barlow), Decanus et Capitulum ejusdem ecclesiæ (licentia prius a nobis per eos alium eligendi in eorum Episcopum et Pastorem petita pariter et obtenta) discretum virum Mag. Gilbertum Bourne, S. Theologiæ Baccalaureum, in eorum Episcopum et Pastorem canonicè elegerunt et nominaverunt, sicuti per eorum literas, quas vobis mittimus præsentibus inclusas plenius liquet, vobis significamus: et cætera. Teste Regina apud Westmonasterium, 28 die Martii. Per ipsam Reginam. Courayer's Dissert. vol. ii. p. lxxxv, lxxxvi.

2. The main and essential point having been settled, namely *the consecration of Parker by Bishops who themselves had been duly consecrated*, our learned romish divine proceeds to answer and demolish all those minor

quibbles and objections, which his less candid brethren have so offensively delighted to conjure up, and which in a flimsy attack upon the English Ordinations the Bishop of Strasbourg (not to mention the emulous feebleness of Mr. Husenbeth) has been contented to retail for the benefit of his Layman with as much assurance as if they were new discoveries hitherto unanswered and plainly unanswerable.

Ces vérités; Dr. Trevern blushes not to say, while his learned compatriot Courayer is never once mentioned: *Ces vérités ne sont pas moins claires à l'esprit, que le jour l'est à nos yeux.* Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 408.

Hence, with ludicrous gravity, he tells us, that, were he a member of the most ancient and most illustrious and most honest assembly in the whole world, our British House of Commons to wit; an assembly, which no Englishman, let him be gentle or simple, can reverence and honour more entirely than Dr. Trevern does; he would certainly, with humble and firm confidence, move, that it be an indispensable duty to abate and effectually remove the crying nuisance of the year 1558: for, on every principle of morality and equity, to maintain and preserve a manifest and undoubted antichristian Establishment, when it might so easily be put down, is quite as bad as to have been concerned in the unspeakable atrocity of first setting it up. Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 409.

IV. Thus harmoniously consistent from beginning to end, in the concluding chapter of his præeminently *Amicable Discussion*; the chapter, in which he mildly laments the profound ignorance of those birds of darkness the modern Anglican Clergy, meekly apologises for the generally beneficial Inquisition, charitably abuses the Reformation, and humanely declaims against that freedom of religious worship which *we* deem our glory but which *he* confidently predicts will be the ruin of the Church of

England: thus, I say, in his concluding chapter, does this remarkable divine exhibit to us, embodied in his own person, that amiable spirit of persuasive conciliation by which the Church of Rome has in all ages been so peculiarly characterised.

THE END.

ERRATA.

- Page 46 line 11, for *possess* read *profess*.
— 87 — 7, for *Hippolitus*, read *Hippolytus*.
— 111 — 4, for *funeral*, read *funereal*.
— 156 — 2, note, for *traditionory*, read *traditionary*.
— 180 — 18, note, for *souillares*, read *souillures*.
— 188 — 14, for *stuble*, read *stubble*.
— 200 — 14, note, insert a comma between *relic-worship* and *so*.
— 203 — 27, note, erase the mark of interrogation after *protomartyr*.
— 217 — 14, for *intercessary*, read *intercessory*.
— 225 — 1, note, insert the corresponding mark of reference ¹.
— 243 — 15, for *tree*, read *three*.
— 295 — 29, note, for *pejores*, read *pejor es*.
— 302 — 1, note, for *regulus*, read *regulas*.
— 308 — 10, for *Balsemon*, read *Balsamon*.
— 346 — 11, note for COMMENT, read COMMENTO.
— 354 — 12, note, for *bibitur*, read *bibituri*.
— 365 — 19, note, erase the comma after *ὀβρίας*.
— 406 — 19, note, for *apostacy*, read *apostasy*.
— 473 — 7, note, for the semicolon, insert a comma.
— 486 — 2, note, for the period, insert a note of interrogation.
— 513 — 12, for the colon, insert a comma.
— 532 — 5, for the colon, insert a period.



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